

T H E
G R E C I A N
H I S T O R Y.

From the Original of G R E E C E, to the Death
of P H I L I P of M A C E D O N.

By T E M P L E S T A N Y A N, E s q.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

V O L U M E T H E F I R S T.

From the Original of G R E E C E, to the End of
the P E L O P O N N E S I A N War.

Containing the Space of about 1684 Years,

L O N D O N,

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MDCCLXXIV.

GREEK

HISTORY

From the Original at GREECE in the
of PHILIP of MACEDON

BY TEMPLE STANLEY ESQ

IN TWO VOLUMES



To the Right Honourable

J O H N Lord SOMERS,

B A R O N of E V E S H A M.

My L O R D,

I CANNOT give a greater proof of my zeal for antiquity, than by the ambition I have of putting its chief Heroes under your Lordship's protection. I am sensible I can plead no right to it, but what is founded upon their merit; and have nothing to palliate my presumption to your Lordship, but a pretence of doing justice to them. So that I dare insist upon your Lordship's patronage no otherwise, than as it will be a reward paid to the

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memory of their virtues, which can never receive its due lustre, but from men of the same generous principles. It was a noble vigour with which they were animated against the first disturbers of mankind; and it is that makes them naturally have recourse to those, who have so gloriously exerted themselves in securing the liberties of *Europe*. How great a part your Lordship bears in that work, is allowed by all but Your Self, who are equally industrious to merit applause, and to avoid it.

To interest Your Self in affairs of the last importance with so much zeal and assiduity, and yet to affect them with so much calmness and serenity, to do good without any prospect, but that of the pleasure arising from the consequence, and to promote the service of your country, even by seeming to decline it, as they are qualities the best of Patriots have ever affected, so are they in none more conspicuous than in your Lordship.

My

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MY LORD, It is not easy to resist the temptation of indulging myself upon this subject; especially where I am secured as well from the imputation, as the guilt of flattery. For none can be so hardy as to dispute your Lordship's merit, without denying those very blessings they enjoy, as the result of it. But in regard to the uneasiness I should give your Lordship, and indeed to the injustice I should do You by pursuing so unequal a task, I am forced to leave it as a happiness reserved for those, who shall hereafter be engaged in the most ornamental part of the *English* history.

I would urge one Title more to your Lordship's acceptance of these Papers, by considering *Greece* as the mother of arts and literature; that whilst the reader beholds science displayed in its infancy, your Lordship's Name may at the same time give him a more expressive idea of it in its full maturity. There are so many instances of your Lordship's improvements in that kind, that the only

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dispute is, whether You have contributed more to it by your encouragement, or example. Such extent and variety of learning, such strength of reasoning, and delicacy of taste, and such an universal politeness, with which your Lordship has always tempered your more severe, and weighty inquiries, have completed your Lordship's Character, and rendered You no less the ornament, than the support of your country. I am with the greatest respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

most obedient, and

most humble servant,

TEMPLE STANYAN.

P E F A C E.

THE affairs of *Greece* have lain under such a general suspicion, that I think I ought not to publish any account of them, without premising something concerning the truth in history. It is this *Plato* calls the *property* of it, and *Cicero* its *chief law* and *distinguishing character*: And it was in regard to this, that I was deterred at my first entrance upon the *Grecian* story, especially when I found the ancients themselves so confounded, that few of them dated it from the same period. Some affirm there was no history of *Greece* before *Phoroneus* the son of *Inachus*: and others fix the *Attic Æra* at the flood of *Ogyges*, which happened about the same time. *Plutarch* makes an excuse for beginning so high as *Theseus*: *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* says there was nothing certain before the *Trojan* war; and *Ephorus* the *Cumæan*, *Calisthenes*, and *Theopompus*, dated their histories eighty years lower, from the *return* of the *Heraclidæ*. *Varro* calls the beginning of the *Olympiads* the *historical times*: *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is writ of *Greece* before the reign of *Cyrus*, which began in the fifty-fifth *Olympiad*; and others place the most ancient historians but a little before the *descent* of the *Persian*.

- It is not to be imagined, that the *Grecians* had for so long a tract of time received no footsteps of the former ages; the dispute is, at what time

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time they came to be so plain, that they might trace them with ease, and tread in them with safety. If we enquire a little into the origin of history, we shall find the innate desire of glory put men upon finding out ways to transmit their names to posterity, even before the invention of letters. They left their images as an inheritance to their sons; their most remarkable achievements were signed by *Hieroglyphicks*, or painted and engraved on their walls; and their songs, though very rude, and ill-modelled, preserved the memory of their great captains, and were fresh incentives to their posterity. When writing was in use, they erected stones with inscriptions on them: And *Eusebius* says, that *Hermes Trismegistus* wrote his doctrine on pillars, lest, upon the innundation of the *Nile*, it should be lost. It must be owned, it was very late before letters were received in *Greece*; and even after that, there was not the same care taken, as in other nations, to apply the use of them to history. The *Ægyptians*, who pretended to the greatest improvements, as well in this, as in other parts of learning, committed the care of their public *memoirs* to their colleges of priests: yet as an instance of the general defect in the history of the first ages, they could not, even in *Herodotus's* time, give any certain account of the building their *Pyramids*, nor of their great monarch *Sesostris*. The *Persian* historians were the *Magi*, the most considerable among them both for knowledge and station: And in *Rome* the *Pontiffs* had the charge of making their *Annals*. So that the *Grecians*
were

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were the only people of note, who were careless in this respect, and for many ages followed only their first guide, *Tradition*. It was this made them attribute such immoderate things to antiquity, that where any man excelled in virtue or power, he was in process of time elevated into a deity; the distance of time magnifying things almost in the same proportion, as the distance of place lessens them. And whatever these traditional stories were, they were still heightened by the poets, who were undoubtedly their first historians. Hence it was, that their history became so vitiated by so many different and monstrous relations of their gods and heroes; and this is the chief foundation of all the fables of antiquity. *Lactantius* observes that the poets wrote the truth, though they disguised it; but the veil was so thick, that it could never be perfectly thrown off; and therefore the dark and confused accounts we have of the first ages, seem like inscriptions upon ancient medals half defaced, where the defective part is to be supplied by guess from the remaining characters.

But notwithstanding the spirit of *romance*, which runs through the *Grecian* story, one may venture to say of the first *Grecians*, what *Monsieur de St. Evremond* does of the *Romans*, that *They had so many real excellencies to be admired for, that there was no need of having recourse to fables*. I make no question, but there were such men as *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and many others, whose stories are handed down to us; that they did many of the acts which are ascribed to them:

And

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And one reason why men doubt of their achievements, may be, because they would not imitate them. For it is a natural observation of *Salust*, that we are too apt to take our dimensions of others from our own standard, and conceive every thing feigned, which exceeds our own power. But what I say of these first heroes, I would have understood only of the modest part of their characters; for some things ascribed to them, are too gross to bear any colour of probability. What I have endeavoured in this short survey, has been to purge them, as much as possible, from the fabulous aspersions of the poets, who, by advancing them so far above the standard of humanity, have brought their real merit in question, and eclipsed those virtues they intended to adorn. If they still seem to act too much above the condition of men, I may be allowed to appeal in their behalf to a later race of heroes of our own nation: And it is not the least part of their vindication, that we see the wonders of past ages so gloriously attested by those of the present. I dare not from hence take occasion to enter into a thorough defence of antiquity: I know it would require a much abler advocate; and I am sensible how far it has already suffered in my following account of it. I can only pretend to have been cautious in affirming any thing, where I doubted my authority: And though, among the several opinions of authors, I have marked out what seemed to me the most probable, yet there is still room left for the reader to pass his own judgment.

Here

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Here it may not be improper to say something of the chief authors, from whom this history is collected, in order to shew how far we may depend upon its credibility. The first from whom we receive any tolerable light into the *Grecian* affairs, is *Herodotus*, who is stiled the *father of history*, either because he was the first who reduced it into any thing of form, or at least the first whose writings in that kind have been preserved. His stile is so easy, smooth, and elegant, and his matter so entertaining, that for this reason his books bear the names of the *Nine Muses*. His chief care was to please rather than instruct; and therefore instead of the wars between the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, which he promises to treat of, he entertains you with a collection of antiquities, which he delivers upon the credit of the *Ægyptian* priests, and gives you a narrative of all he knows. So that half his book is digression and *parenthesis*: And in this liberty he has been too faithfully imitated by his successors, many of whose works are such perfect *grotesques*, that in perusing them you often lose the principal design. The heaviest charge against him is his fabulousness, and credulity. But they seem not to be acquainted with his design, who blame him for want of truth: He was so far from being a severe historian, that he endeavoured only, as the former poets, to confine himself within the rules of probability. Poetry was then at the height; the *Drama* was carried high by *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, the *Dithyrambick* by *Pindar* and the *Epick* by *Homer*: *Herodotus*

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Herodotus sought out a new glory, and diverted the *Grecians* with prose, or rather, as *Quintilian* says, with more secret numbers.

Thucydides soon gave another turn to history; and though his emulation was first raised by the applause that was given to *Herodotus*, he did not think fit to follow his example. He declares he was apprehensive his history would not please the present age, for want of fables: But yet he chose rather to satisfy the judgment of posterity, and he took the surest way of gaining to his work the title of an *Everlasting Possession*. His style is grave, masculine, and elevated; his reasoning strong and profound, always just, and to the purpose; and his expression is so close and pointed, that his words are in a manner sentences. This energy and conciseness in his diction is said to have rendered him in some passages too hard and obscure. He is also charged with reviving words which were grown obsolete, and with adopting new ones, and with being over-careful to avoid saying any thing in the common way. Perhaps he had a little too much affectation of this kind: But *Cicero* and others, who have censured him upon these accounts, have at the same time spoke of him as the completest model of the *Grecian* history. But whatever objections there may be to his style and composition, there are none to his veracity. Nobody, I believe, but *Josephus* has disputed the authority of his facts: And it may be considered, that what he has said upon that head, was in his answer to *Apion*, where he was to make the best of his argument,

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argument, as a *Jew*, against all the *Pagan* writers in general; and therefore found it necessary to attack the credit of *Thucydides* among the rest: And yet even there, he allows him to be the most cautious and impartial historian of any in his time. It is a good saying, *That an historian ought to be of no country*; and nobody has verified it more than *Thucydides*: So that if he had not told you he was an *Athenian*, you would not discover it by his writing. He says nothing in favour of his countrymen, but what he is strictly justified in by their actions: And as he avoids all occasions of launching out in their praise; so on the other hand he shews no marks of resentment against them for their having banished him. In short, he has no friends nor no enemies; and is almost a single instance of one, who has wrote with so much spirit, and so little passion. If any thing gives a turn of romance to his history, it is his set speeches, which perhaps may appear too regular and too elaborate, to be delivered in the heat of action, or upon any sudden emergencies. But they are so admirably suited to the occasion, and to the character of the person, and have such an agreeable mixture of oratory, and good sense, that we may easily pardon that as a blemish in him, which in others would have been looked upon as their greatest beauty. Besides, he deals very fairly with his reader in this respect: For he does not pretend to have given him the genuine orations of the persons he introduces as speakers. He confesses, that he could not do it exactly in the terms they delivered them; and that there-
fore

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fore he had contented himself with taking their meaning and their sentiments, and had supplied the rest from himself. And he has done it better than any of the historians, who have almost universally followed the same method, though they have not been so just in acknowledging it. He has throughout the whole of his history, acted with so much sincerity, candour and disinterestedness, that perhaps no heathen writer ever equalled him : And the only thing to be wished for more than what he has performed, is, that he had taken in a larger compass of time.

His loss was in a great measure repaired by *Xenophon*, who continued his history in so pure and easy, so sweet and unaffected a stile, that from thence he obtained the name of the *Attick Bee*. The admirers of the *sublime* charge him with being too much upon the level : But it was his great artifice to speak *properly*, and yet not *vulgarly*; wherein he resembles a clear and gentle stream, which can hardly be perceived to flow, and yet never stagnates. He was a perfect master of nature, and understood the secret graces of simplicity ; which as it stole insensibly upon his readers, so it made his narrative appear more sincere and impartial. In short, he was the only *Grecian*, who knew how to support the dignity of history with the plainness of expression.

Diodorus Siculus is to be valued for his laborious collections ; and though he takes in too many of the fables of his predecessors, and adheres too much to the traditions of the *Ægyptian*

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tian priests, he serves very well to supply, and compare with others. *Monsieur de la Mothe le Vayer* had such an opinion of him, that he declares, *He would freely travel to the end of the world, if he were sure of finding that part of him which is lost, and envies posterity the bare probability of recovering so great a treasure.* *Plutarch* has also presented us with many rich and uncommon gleanings from the ancients; he has drawn his heroes in their full proportion, and, in their lives, comprised the history of the most remarkable occurrences. He is generally cautious and impartial; but as he was a great collector, he is not always consistent and of a piece, either as to matter, or stile. Besides one may too easily discover the old man in him; he loves a story, though never so foreign to his subject; he tells it with too many circumstances, and with too great an air of superstition. I have always thought he would make an excellent abridgment: For where he speaks to the purpose, few speak better; and he has scarce been equalled in the justness of his characters, and the wisdom of his reflections. It is not the least part of his merit, that he has preserved so many *sayings* of the greatest men; and I have been cautious of omitting any that were material, because, as he says himself, *A jest or an apothegm often shews a man more than a battle.* The *Lives* of *Nepos* deserve mention in this catalogue: But they seem to be only characters drawn from his general history, and are too short to give us any thorough image of antiquity. And in this respect, *Justin's* abridgment

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of *Trogus Pompeius* serves chiefly to make us regret the loss of the original.

To these authors I have added the assistance of our countrymen, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Dr. *Howel*, and the learned Sir *John Marsham*, who, in his *Canon Chronicus*, has taken a great deal of pains to reconcile the different *Æra's* of the first ages. And among the moderns, I am particularly obliged to Monsieur *Tourreil*, who, in his preface before some of *Demosthenes's orations*, has laid out an admirable plan of *Greece*; wherein, as far as the compass of his design would permit, he has distinguished the most remarkable periods, discovered the *genius*, and unravelled the interests of the several states, and traced out the steps, by which they arrived to their turns of superiority.

Having mentioned the chief materials of which this history is composed, it may be necessary to shew in what manner I have digested them. As to the method I have made use of, I could not meet with any more clear and easy, than that laid down in the *English Collection* of the *Roman History*; which I have therefore followed in my division of *books* and *chapters*, and whatever else the subject would admit of. But as the affairs of *Greece* and *Rome* were very different, so they could not be related altogether after the same manner. *Rome* you see at one view, as well in its progress, as its rise. For though in process of time she branched out into so many colonies, they were all subject to her as their head; thence they received their laws as they were conquered; and they were always
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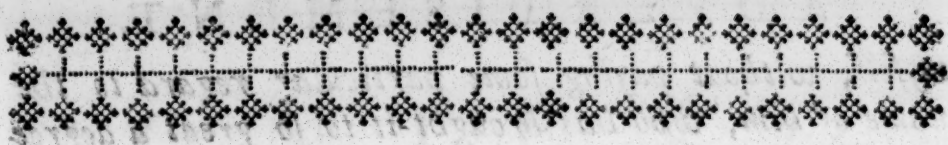
one intire united people. Which makes their affairs admit of a more clear and even thread of history, than those of the *Grecians*; who, besides that they had to do with most parts of the then known world, were among themselves so many distinct *Republicks*, almost wholly independent one of another, differing in their laws and customs, jealous of each other's superiority, and consequently always jarring in their interests, unless when mere necessity obliged them to unite against a common enemy. So that in this respect, one may say of them, as *Florus* did of the *Romans*, that *Theirs is not the history of one people, but of mankind*. It is true, the several states of *Greece* agreed in the main as to the one thing they contended for, which was liberty; but they had most of them different ways to obtain, and preserve it: And hence proceeds such a variety, and intricacy in their affairs, that it is no easy task to marshal so many events in due order of time and place, and out of them to collect an intire unbroken body of history.

As to what further relates to this undertaking, the reader will find *Greece* considered under two states; It is first divided into *Kingdoms*, the principal of which are treated of separately in the first book, and carried down to the abolition of the regal power. The second book considers it as formed into settled commonwealths, relates its affairs in a more united manner. To do this with the less confusion, I have observed a rule of referring the chief transactions to *Athens* as the head, and men-

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tioning the other states only as they had dependence on it. For this reason I must own a liberty I have taken in the first book, of placing the *kingdom* of *Athens* last, that there might be no thorough interruption in the story. Yet though I have been particularly cautious of perplexing the reader by too many different views, I have not neglected the use of *chronology*: In which I have chiefly followed the authority of *Archbishop Usber*, Astronomical niceties cannot be expected, where a general knowledge of the times is sufficient; and if I have sometimes made use of a round number, either as to years, men, ships, or the like, I hope it may be allowed in cases of the most remote antiquity, especially where the difference in historians is so great, that it is impossible to arrive at any exactness. I have all along intermixed as much of the antiquities, as I thought necessary to illustrate the story. And as I found myself obliged to say something of arts and learning, in writing of a country wherein they were supposed to have received their birth, I have assigned the general periods of *poetry*, and *philosophy*, and mentioned the greatest proficient in them, with a short *account* of their persons and writings. As this was intended only for an abridgment of the *Grecian* story, I have endeavoured to reduce the whole into as narrow a compass as possible; and notwithstanding the great variety of matter, I hope I have omitted nothing material.

A D V E R.



ADVERTISEMENT.

IN revising the account I had given of the first ages of Greece, I have been obliged to the late posthumous work of Sir Isaac Newton, called The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended; wherein he has taken infinite pains to settle the time of their foundation, and the succession of their Kings. He has likewise endeavoured to fix the dates of the Trojan war, the return of the Heraclidæ, the beginning of the Olympiads, and other remarkable periods. But he does not take upon him to determine them: He says plainly, It is difficult to set right the genealogies and chronology of the fabulous ages of the Grecians; and I leave these things to be further examined. However, he has gone further towards the solving these difficulties, than any other writer; and his conjectures are so well founded, that they will always have their weight, and be of great authority in clearing up the darkness of those times. And if he had gone lower than the fabulous age, he might probably have removed some other doubts of the same kind, which are still remaining. But he was almost wholly employed in his philosophical enquiries; which, as they were founded upon more certain principles, were more satisfactory to himself, and more beneficial to mankind: and this chronological treatise of his, as laborious and learned as it is, was to him but a kind of relaxation from his other severer studies. Upon mentioning this great man, who has done so much honour to his country, and to whom the common-wealth of letters is so highly indebted, I cannot but express some sentiments of the esteem and reverence due to his memory: And when I was writing the history of a country, to which the birth of philosophy is generally assigned, I thought I could not acquit myself,

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myself, without paying some particular regard to the name of him, who has brought it to so great a degree of perfection.

In speaking of the Olympiads, it were to be wished, that the beginning of them were more thoroughly ascertained, in regard to the use that is made of them in chronology. But it was very late before they were applied to that use: For the ancient historians made their computations by the Archons of Athens, the Kings and Ephori of Sparta, and the priestesses of Argos; and where they take occasion to mention the Games, they say nothing of the Olympiads, as dates, and divisions of time. Polybius is said to be the first who reckoned that way: For the Olympiads, which are inserted, as annals, in Xenophon's history, are an interpolation. This late use of them in chronology, together with the several interruptions of the Games after their first institution, and the not duly registering the names of some of the victors, has chiefly occasioned these difficulties; insomuch that not only the beginning, but the first sixty or seventy of them, according to Sir Isaac Newton, are uncertain. However, he has left room for a future enquiry into these matters; and I doubt not, but the world will one day receive some further light into them.

There being frequent mention made of money in the course of this history, I must acquaint the reader, that the Grecian manner of reckoning sums of money, was by Drachma's; one of which answered to seven pence three farthings of our money. An hundred Drachma's were equal to a Mina, which was 3l. 4s. 7d. And sixty Mina's were equal to a Talent, which was 193l. 15s. that is, the common silver talent. They who are curious this way, may receive more thorough information from the Dissertations of my late learned friend Dr. Arbuthnot upon the ancient Coins, Weights and Measures.

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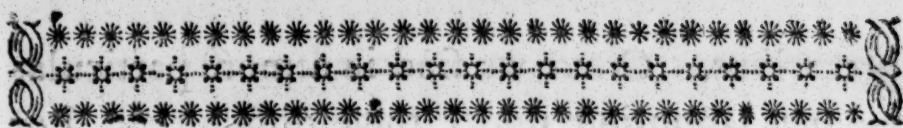
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T H E
I N T R O D U C T I O N .

Of the original of G R E E C E, and its
first inhabitants.

AS there has been a constant dispute carried on by all nations in their pretensions to antiquity, the *Ægyptians*, *Scythians*, and others, who were resolved not to be outdone by their neighbours, fancied themselves the first race of mankind, and that they were of equal duration with the world. Nor can we exempt the *Grecians* from their share in this common vanity; the *Athenians* particularly gave out, that they were produced at the same time with the *Sun*, and out of the same *soil* that they inhabited. However pride and emulation might contribute to this opinion, it might probably take its rise from the want of letters, and civil government in the first ages of the world; and as from thence the original of most nations became obscure, so consequently must the most plausible accounts we have of them, be very

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precarious.

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precarious. *Greece* we find in a more particular manner labouring under these difficulties: For she underwent a long infancy, and though she often exerted herself, and signalized it by some generous exploits; yet the fame of them being delivered down to posterity, either by uncertain tradition, or rude imperfect memoirs, gave occasion to their historians, as well as poets in succeeding ages, to make up in fiction, what they wanted in authentic records. This is a short account of that which we call the *fabulous age*; and though we find it sufficiently clouded with error and superstition, yet there are still some scattered intervals of light, which must serve to direct us in our inquiry into the birth of a people, who have made so glorious a figure in the world as the *Grecians*. Upon the whole, we may with safety allot them a place in antiquity, but must not give them the precedence, since it is allowed by their own historians, that they were instructed, and civilized by colonies planted among them from *Phœnicia* and *Egypt*; the first of which taught them navigation, trade, and the use of letters, and the latter polished them by her laws, gave them a taste of the arts and sciences, initiated them in their mysteries, and, in a word, gave them Kings and Gods.

But before we treat of their affairs, it will be necessary to take a view of that part of the world, which went under the general name of *Greece*.



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Greece. As to the name itself, the *Grecians* were so called either from a petty borough, or *Græcus*, a very obscure King, whose subjects were thought to be originally inhabitants of *Thessaly*; and therefore some of the ancient authors confine *Greece* properly so called, to that country. This was an ancient known name among them; and the *Romans* paid that regard to their antiquity, as generally to call them by it; though it has been remarked, that *Virgil* does not once throughout his whole poem make use of that name: And they soon quitted it themselves for that of *Hellenes* or *Achai*; though one would wonder that a people so fond of antiquity, should so easily part with the most eminent mark of it. But it seems it was a compliment several of their kings expected from them; so that they changed their names almost as often as their masters.

The several names of Greece.

But since, through a mixture of pride and ignorance, they seem to have corrupted the Names of their *founders*, and by that means to have disguised their true *orgine*, we must have recourse to the more ancient and undoubted records of *scripture*.

That *Greece* was first inhabited by the sons of *Noah*, as other countries were, is a thing out of dispute, but by whose immediate posterity, is not so generally allowed. The posterity of *Japheth* took possession of the *Isles of the Gentiles*,

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which,

Javan
 is thought to
 be the same
 with the
 Grecian
 Ion.

which, according to the *Hebrew idiom*, comprehended not only such as were properly so called, but all those countries which lay towards the sea at any distance from *Palestine*, especially between the *Ocean* and *Mediterranean sea*; and so both *Greece* and *Italy* might come under this denomination. His son *Javan* seems most probable to have peopled *Greece*, from the exact analogy he bears with the *Grecian Ion*. *Javan* is the scripture word for *Greece*; and it is observable, that though among the *Grecians* themselves the *Ionians* were but a part of *Greece*, yet other nations comprehended all under the name of *Ionians*. The memory also of his son *Elisha* seems to have been preserved under the name of the *Eoles*, or rather *Elis* of *Peloponnesus*, one part of which by *Homer* is called *Alisum*; and some from hence derive the *Hellenes*.

Whatever colour these opinions carry with them, they are not so unexceptionable, but that we may give the *Grecians* leave to tell their own story. And of them the most judicious and inquisitive allow their country was first inhabited by a barbarous people, different from them both in language and manners. *Strabo* has given us a large catalogue of the *Dryopes*, *Caucones*, *Leleges*, *Aones*, and many others: But these seem not to have been that ancient people, but some later outcasts of the *Carians*, who made frequent inroads into *Greece*. So that the most noted,
 and

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and of the greatest extent and antiquity, were the *Pelasgi*, whose first or chief place of residence was *Arcadia*; from whence the *Arcadians* challenged to themselves their founder *Pelasgus*, and from him derived their claim to an higher antiquity than their neighbours. He passed with him for an *Autochthon*, or *son of the Earth*, as the *Grecians* generally called those of whom they could give no better account. But as by this they betrayed their ignorance of his original, so they leave room for an opinion insisted on by very learned men, that by *Pelasgus* was meant *Peleg*, or *Phaleg*: Which looks like more than a probable conjecture, if we allow what is generally asserted, that *Greece*, and indeed most other nations of *Europe*, were peopled out of *Scythia*; from whence the posterity of *Phaleg* making their way through *Thrace*, and *Thessaly*, which were already taken up by the sons of *Elisba* and others, might fix some in *Epirus*, some in *Hellas*, and the greatest part in *Peloponnesus*, where they found the most empty and convenient habitation. For it is but reasonable to suppose that the places towards the sea were the last peopled, first from the want of the conveniency of navigation; and afterwards, when that was established, for fear of pirates, who continually infested their coasts. This descent of the posterity of *Phaleg* receives further confirmation from the near affinity between the

*Account of
the Pe-
lasgi.*

*Pelasgus.
the same
with Pha-
leg.*

Affinity between the Grecian and Eastern languages.

Hebrew language and the ancient *Greeks*, which is almost universally allowed to be of *Eastern Extraction*. Nor can we more plausibly account for the many *dialects*, into which the *Greek* was distinguished, than by its mixture with other languages: And in the *Dorick dialect* we have a plain instance of the broad pronunciation so peculiar to the *oriental* tongues. There are also the same footsteps of *Eastern* languages to be met with in the out-skirts of *Greece*, particularly in *Crete* and other islands, whither this people naturally betook themselves, as they were expelled *Peloponnesus* and the *Continent*. Whoever these people were, we have no account of them but under the name of the *Pelafgi*; from whom *Peloponnesus* had the name of *Pelafgi*. After they had dispersed themselves throughout all *Greece*, they arrived in *Italy*; where they passed for the same with the *Tyrrheni*, and as such were conceived to be the original founders of *Rome*. As they were a scattered, wandering people, never thoroughly settled, or incorporated with the other *Grecians*, they were forced to give way to *Hellen*, who was generally reputed the son of *Deucalion*, though some say of *Prometheus* and *Clymene*, and others of *Ion*. He reigned in *Theffaly* some time after the *Deucalionian deluge*, and being seated almost in the heart of *Greece*, and he with his sons bearing a great sway in those parts, maintained a

Hellen.

cor-

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correspondence with the neighbouring cities, until by degrees they expelled the last remains of the *Pelasgi*: And from thence it was that he imposed one name, calling the country after himself *Hellas*, which was afterwards called *Phthiotis*, and the people *Hellenes*. This name, though in process of time it was transferred to signify the whole nation with its colonies, at first reached no farther than his own dominions. For there were other Kings as zealous as *Hellen* in propagating their names, in hopes it might prove a considerable step towards the *universal monarchy* of *Greece*. And this may account for the variety of names we find, especially among the poets, who used them promiscuously to express the nation in general. The most noted among them were *Achæi*, *Argivi*, *Danai*, *Dolopes*, *Hellenes*, *Iones*, *Myrmidones*, and *Pelasgi*, which were particular parts of *Greece*, so called from their respective Kings, or founders. But as the *Grecians* did nothing very considerable, either at home or abroad, before the *Trojan* war, it was that first began to unite them under one common name, and interest: Neither did they presume until after that to call the rest of the world *Barbarians*; that is, until they had one established name, and nation to oppose to them.

The country which they anciently and properly inhabited was *Hellas*, or *Greece* properly so called, being the *Eastern* part of *Europe*,

*Descrip-
tion of the
country.*

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bounded

INTRODUCTION.

bounded chiefly by two seas, the *Ionian* on the *West* and *South*, and the *Ægean* on the *East*, which parts them from *Asia*. On the *North* was *Macedonia*, *Illyricum*. and *Epirus*; both which latter had a mixt dependence on the *Grecians*, and *Barbarians*. It was divided by the *Isthmus*, a narrow neck of land between the two seas; the largest part being without the *Isthmus* to the *North*, and the lesser within it to the *South*; which being surrounded every where by the sea, except the *Isthmus*, made it a *Peninsula*, and from *Pelops*, who reigned there, was called *Peloponnesus*. To these parts we may add the multitude of islands, which lie dispersed in these seas: Of which the most remarkable is *Crete*, both for fame and extent. The next are *Eubœa*, *Corcyra*, *Cephalenia*, and *Zacynthus*, with many others of less note. These parts were also subdivided into less countries, in the nature of provinces: The most noted of which, in the flourishing times of *Greece*, were *Thessaly*, *Locri Epicnemidii*, *Opuntii*, and *Ozolæ*, the latter of which lying more *Westward*, is also distinguished by the name of *Locri Hesperii*, *Bœotia*, *Attica*, *Megaris*, *Phocis*, *Æolia*, *Acarmania*, and *Doris*; all without the *Isthmus*. Within the *Isthmus* were *Achaia*, *Elis*, *Messenia*, *Laconia*, *Argolis*, and *Arcadia*, all comprehended under the general name of *Peloponnesus*.

These

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These were the native fixed seats of the *Greeks*, until increasing in power, and pressed with numbers, they threw themselves out in colonies, and so enlarged their territories. By these means they got possession as well of the remoter parts, as those which bordered upon them, especially the sea-coasts of *Macedonia*, *Thrace*, *Illyricum* and *Epirus*; as also of *Sicily*, the largest island in *Europe* next our own, with the *Southern* part of *Italy*; both of which from the many colonies planted there went under the name of *Magna Græcia*. As for *Macedonia* in general, we are not yet to consider it as a part of *Greece*, until by a large accession of territory it grew formidable to the most remote and powerful states of *Greece*; and from thence laid the foundation of that sovereignty it soon after assumed under the title of the *third monarchy*. They had also in the *lesser Asia*, *Pontus*, *Bitbynia*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, and the island *Cyprus*. To these we may add several famous islands belonging to *Asia*, as *Lesbos*, *Chios*, *Samos*, *Cos*, *Carpathus* and *Rhodes*, with *Lemnos* near *Thrace* in the *Ægean* sea. But these and other less colonies we shall have occasion to mention more particularly, as they fall in with the body of the story. It may suffice in general, that they got footing in most parts of the old known world; and where-ever they planted their colonies, they generally propagated
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by them their race, religion, laws, customs, and language.

We have no particular account of the state of *Greece* before the foundation of her *royalties*; nor indeed can we expect any thing worth our notice from a people who were at that time rude and unpolished even to barbarism. For it is certain they were unacquainted with agriculture, building, and all the earliest and most natural inventions of providing for the common necessities of life, having no law but force, and grazing like beasts in the open air. So that to give them the least tincture of humanity, was sufficient to gain from them the title of King, or God; witness the divine honours they paid to their *Pelasgus*, who built them a sort of cottages to fence them from the inclemency of the air, clothed them with the skins of beasts, and taught them to feed on acorns, as a more wholesome nourishment than that of herbs. This new diet, whatever other good effects it might have, wrought no great change in their manners; so that *Greece* was not for several ages after inhabited in any constant settled way. They were still the same lawless rout, continually roving and removing from one place to another; and such as were not content with their own fortune, were easily tempted to invade their neighbours. In this general contest the richest countries fell to the strongest: But

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as the conquest was easy, so the possession was short, they being soon succeeded by others upon the same title. For this reason *Thessaly*, and *Peloponnesus*, and indeed all the fertile regions of *Greece*, changed their masters every year, with a great part of their inhabitants. The country which was least molested upon these accounts, was *Attica*; and it is imputed chiefly to the barrenness of its soil. For there being nothing worth contending for, the inhabitants were continued quietly in a long and regular descent; and this gave the *Athenians* the best title to antiquity, or at least the best proofs of it. But the greatest advantage was, that it made them exert themselves sooner than their neighbours; it quickened their invention, disposed them to a more easy reception of arts and literature, when they got footing among them, and in a manner laid the foundation of all that grandeur, to which they afterwards arrived.

But to return to *Greece* in general, the other parts of it were over-run with spoil and rapine. The continual fear of being displaced made them live as it were by chance, without any further prospect than their present sustenance; and so cramped their industry in general, that we find nothing of the arts and sciences at that time among them, no trade or commerce, or any other happy effects of peace and security. They at last grew sensible of the necessity there
was

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was of civil society, as a means to secure them from violence and oppression. This put them upon improving their notions of building; so that their houses increasing in number as well as beauty, grew insensibly into *boroughs*, and they some time after into *cities*. But neither could this advantage of cohabitation thoroughly tame and soften their tempers; that being a peculiar honour reserved, (as was hinted before) for *Ægypt* and *Phœnicia*.



THE

THE
GREEKIAN
HISTORY.
BOOK I.

The state of the several kingdoms of *Greece*,
from the foundation of the kingdom of
Sicyon, to the last remains of regal power
in *Athens*.

Containing the space of 1579 Years.

CHAP. I.

The kingdom of *Sicyon*.

Containing the space of about 1000 years.

THE first kingdom we find mentioned in
Greece, is that of *Sicyon*, a town situate
in *Peloponnesus*, near the *Isthmus* in the
confines of *Achaia*, said to be built within a
little time after the *universal deluge*. Which as
it is the most ancient of any in *Europe*, and
some say in the world, not allowing even the
Assyrian or *Aegyptian* kingdoms to have preceded
it, we must therefore content ourselves with

Sicyon
the first
Kingdom.

a very slender account of it; especially since we have almost as much reason to dispute, as to assert its real existence. Here they say, *Ægialeus* first reigned about the 1915th year of the world, and from himself named not only the city with its territory, but some say the greatest part of *Peloponnesus*, *Ægialeia*; as from *Apis*, another of its Kings, it was called *Apia*; and from *Sicyon*, *Sicyonia*. Authors are so far from recording any other memorable actions of the Kings of *Sicyon*, or assigning the just length of their reigns, that they cannot agree as to their number, order, or names. For *Homer* seems to make *Adrastus* the first King; and though *Zeuxippus* is usually placed as the last, yet *Pausanias* reckons *Hippolitus*, and *Lacestades* after him, and in his catalogue omits *Polyphides*. Sir *Isaac Newton* observes that the chronologers have split *Apis*, *Epaphus*, or *Epopeus* into two Kings, whom they call *Apis* and *Epopeus*, and between them have inserted eleven or twelve feigned names of Kings who did nothing; and thereby they have made *Ægialeus* the founder of this kingdom, three hundred years older than his brother *Phroneus*; which account, if we allow these two princes to have been the sons of *Inachus*, cannot be made consistent: And therefore the opinion of those, who, though they reckon *Sicyon* among the ancient kingdoms, yet bring the foundation of it as low, or lower than that of *Argos*, may help to reconcile this difference.

difference. And the most probable way of doing it, is by rejecting the above mentioned imaginary Kings, and inserting but one under the name of *Apis*, *Epaphus*, or *Epopeus*. But under so many uncertainties every thing that is recorded of *Sicyon*, as a kingdom, becomes liable to exception; insomuch that the most accurate inquirers into the first ages, strike off the whole succession of these Kings for the space of near a thousand years, leaving them no place in antiquity. But making some allowances for such a vast distance of time, and the want of records; and supposing *Sicyon* to be peopled so early, as, from the fruitfulness and conveniency of its situation, we may reasonably conclude it was, and we may yet believe she had her Kings, that being the government which obtained in most countries, as they came to be inhabited, after the flood. Accordingly there were kings originally in several parts of *Greece*, besides those which I have distinctly treated of; as in *Arcadia*, *Messenia*, *Theffaly*, and other provinces; in *Crete*, and other islands; and in *Elis*, *Eleusis*, and other particular cities. But their reigns are too dark and confused, to attempt the giving any regular succession of them: And therefore I have taken notice but of few of them, and that has been occasionally only, as some remarkable passages concerning them have happened to intermix with the general history of the country.

*Kingdom
of Sicyon
doubtful.*

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We can only observe of the first Kings of *Greece* in general, that they are represented as persons of great worth and renown, who for their courage, prudence, and other virtues, were chosen by the free and universal consent of the people. But they were considered chiefly as the leaders of their armies. And therefore *Thucydides* observes, that under *Cecrops*, and the other ancient Kings of *Attica*, until the time of *Theseus*, the King was not consulted but in cases of danger; for that each city had its own magistrates and courts, by which they carried on the ordinary course of government, and were a sort of commonwealth within themselves. The case was much the same in the other parts of *Greece*. But by the credit and influence these first Kings had in their capacity of generals and commanders, they soon found means of enlarging their authority, and extending it to the civil administration. However, they did not presently make an ill use of their power. There seems by their long and quiet reigns to have been a perfect good understanding between prince and people; who as they yielded an intire and voluntary obedience, so the Kings chose to command rather by love, and esteem of their merit, than by the force of their arms, and a slavish dread of their power. In all their actions they preferred the good of their subjects, for whose protection they knew and acknowledged themselves to have been advanced,
before

before any covetous or ambitious designs of their own; and the people placed such a confidence in the equity of their prince, that *Greece* had not for several ages, after it was a little civilized, any standing laws, but the indefinite will and sentence of its Kings. But this harmony being destroyed in succeeding ages by policy, interest, and thirst of empire, the people, as opportunity offered, resumed the power into their own hands; and this gave rise to more different forms of government in *Greece*, than in any other parts, or perhaps in the whole world besides.

But to return to *Sicyon*, it is certain that kingdom never made any mighty figure in this long tract of time, and that may be the chief reason of its obscurity. Thus it lies involved in the fate of several other petty royalties, which never contended for superiority with the leading states of *Greece*; so that were it not for some of their princes names, which are rescued from oblivion by the poets, we should never know there had been any such kingdom in the world. Upon the death of the last King of *Sicyon*, the government was devolved upon the *Priests* of *Apollo*, seven of which held it about thirty-three years, until by degrees this little kingdom sunk under the power of its neighbours, and was annexed to the Dominions of *Argos*.

Sicyon governed by the Priests of Apollo.

Annexed to Argos.

C H A P. II.

The kingdoms of *Argos* and *Mycenæ*.

Containing the space of about 800 years.

HERE we have fowewhat of a light to direct us, though it breaks in so gradually, that it serves chiefly to discover our want of more, and rather to raise our curiosity, than to satisfy it. The kingdom of *Argos* has an undoubted claim to the second place in antiquity, if not the first; and what it wanted of *Sicyon* in years, is sufficiently made up in riches, fame and power; insomuch that this city was thought to vie with the whole world for splendor and magnificence. The foundation of this kingdom is generally ascribed to *Inachus* about the 2148 year of the world, 232 after that of *Sicyon*, and 1080 before the beginning of the *Olympiads*. He is called the son of *Oceanus*; which was probably from his coming by sea out of *Ægypt* into *Greece*. After a reign of fifty years he was succeeded by his son *Phoroneus*. But others more accurate, as they exclude *Sicyon*, so they speak of *Inachus* as a river only of that name, and begin their account of the *Grecian* affairs from *Phoroneus*, who therefore is thought by those who had no better account

A. M.
2148.
Inachus.

Phoro-
neus.

count of things, to be the first man, and is called the *father of mankind*. At least he is the first who did any thing memorable in *Greece*: For he is said to have built the first altar to *Juno*; and having begun with religion, his next care was to unite his subjects into a sort of community, by building the city from him called *Phoronicum*, to prescribe them laws, and to bring them from mere savages to somewhat of a more civilized way of living. The *Telchines*, and *Caryatæ* a people that inhabited *Arcadia*, joined in war against him, and the *Parrhesians* another part of *Arcadia*, but were conquered and drove into *Crete*, and from thence to *Rhodes*, which from them had the name of *Telchinis*; and thence *Phoroneus* obtained the dominion of the whole *Peninsula*, and after a reign of sixty years left the kingdom to his son *Apis*. There were three of this name, one of *Sicyon*, another of *Ægypt*, and this of *Argos*, whom the *Mythologists* confound, by attributing to all what was done by one, which is usual among the *Grecians* in the case of their gods and heroes. This might give grounds to the story of his going into *Ægypt*, where he built the city *Memphis*, taught the people tillage, and was after his death worshipped as a god in the shape of an ox, under the name of *Serapis* or *Osiris*. But allowing there was such a King of *Argos*, which is not generally assented to, the most probable account is, That he lived and died in *Greece*,

Apis.
Three of
this name.

Argus.

*The Art of
Tillage a-
scribed to
Homogyrus.*

Criafus.

commanded the *Peninsula* to be called after his name, and in the thirty-fifth year of his reign was killed for his tyranny; which was not common in these early times. *Apis* dying without issue was succeeded by *Argus*, his sister *Niobe's* son, who is confounded with his great grandson of that name, whom the poets make all eyes. His reign is more remarkable for the length of it, being seventy years, than any thing else, except that *Greece* in his time had vast plenty of corn, for which he was honoured after his death with a temple and sacrifice; though the art of tillage is more properly assigned to *Homogyrus*, who first yoked oxen in the plough. He also called the city and *Peninsula* from himself, *Argos*, and his subjects *Argi*, and *Argioi*. Some fancy his brother was the *Pelasgus* already mentioned as founder of the *Pelasgi*, who chiefly inhabited *Arcadia*, and being dispersed into several parts of *Greece*, sent colonies into *Latium*. To him succeeded his son *Criafus*, the same whom *Pausanias* calls *Peirasus*, and some *Peranthus*. Others make them distinct Kings, and ascribe to *Peranthus* the building of the first temple to *Juno* at *Argos*, much about the time of the building the temple of *Solomon*. It is certain there was such a temple about this time consecrated to *Juno*, and *Callythia* the daughter of *Peranthus* made priestess of it; which might occasion the mistake of his being King. This superstition was continued for many ages; and

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as all their affairs, publick and private, were dated from such a year of the *priesthood*, it became the standing *Æra* of the *Argives*: Inso-
 much that *Hellanicus*, who was twelve years
 older than *Herodotus*, digested his history by
 the ages, or successions of the *priestesses* of
Juno Argiva. *Criasus* reigned fifty-four years,
 and left the kingdom to his son or brother
Phorbas.

*The Ar-
give Æra.*

There were at this time contemporary with *Phorbas*.
Moses and the *Patriarchs* several famous men,
 who opened a passage for science and humanity,
 which first dawned in the *East*, and now got
 footing in *Europe*, particularly in those parts of
Greece towards *Asia* and *Judæa*. Among these
 we may reckon *Atlas*, the son of *Japetus* proba-
 bly the same with *Japheth*, who for his skill in
 astronomy, and invention of the globe, was
 said to bear up the heavens; and upon the same
 accounts his daughters passed for stars, under
 the names of the *Pleiades* and *Hyades*. Nor is
 less honour due to his brother *Prometheus*, who
 was thought to have formed men of clay, and
 animated them with fire, which he stole from
 heaven, because he was a wise man, who en-
 deavoured to reclaim men from their brutal ig-
 norance, and teach them the use of reason. And
 this seems to confirm another part of his story;
 where, by the eagle continually preying upon
 his entrails, may be implied his deep and pain-
 ful enquiries after knowledge. He is from several

*The dawn
of science
and civi-
lity.*

ral concurring circumstances thought to have been the same with *Magog*.

- Phorbas*, after thirty-five years, left the kingdom to his son *Triopas*, who enjoyed it forty-six years and was succeeded by his son *Jasus*, as *Pausanias* will have it, who probably might reign, because the city was from him called *Jasos*, and the citizens *Jasii*. His daughter was the famous *Io*, whose story is so bandied about by the poets; though she is not to be confounded with another of that name, the reputed daughter of *Inachus*. *Herodotus* tells her story most plausibly, that the *Phœnicians*, who first applied themselves to shipping, as they traded with goods from *Affyria* and *Ægypt*, came to *Argos*, at that time the *Metropolis* of *Greece*; where the women flocked down to their ships to buy of them. The *Phœnicians* seized as many as they could of them, and among the rest this *Io* the King's daughter, and sailed away with them into *Ægypt*; which was resented so heinously, that it was thought the foundation of all the quarrels and enmity, which afterwards broke out between the *Grecians* and *Asiaticks*. To return to *Jasus*,
- Crotopus*. it is more generally agreed that *Crotopus*, his brother *Agenor's* son, succeeded his grand-father *Triopas*, who after twenty-one years left the
- Sthenelas*. kingdom to his son *Sthenelas*. As *Jasus* is not generally reckoned in the number of these Kings; so it is doubted, whether *Phorbas* and his son *Triopas* ought not to be excluded, it being said,
- that

that they fled from *Argos* to the island of *Rhodes*: And the same doubt has been raised concerning *Crotopus*, because he is likewise said to have left *Argos*, and to have built a new city for himself in *Megaritis*. But allowing the succession of these first eight Kings, as they now stand, there are other objections made as to the length of their reigns, which amounting in the whole to three hundred and seventy-one years, and being at the proportion of above forty-six years to each of them, one with another, has been taken notice of by the * *great chronologer before-mentioned*, to be too much above the common course of nature, to be credited. He makes the like observation with regard to the Kings of *Sicyon*, *Sparta* and other cities, who lived before the time of the *Persian empire*, that they have been made to reign about thirty-five, or forty years a-piece, one with another; whereas in the ordinary course of succession, eighteen or twenty years may be thought a proper *medium* for each reign. And this he demonstrates from the several successions of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, of *Persia*, *Macedonia*, and other countries; as likewise of thirty of our own Kings from *William the Conqueror*, and of sixty-three Kings of *France* from *Pharamond*. To which he adds, that in the later ages, since chronology hath been exact, there is scarce an instance to be found of ten Kings reigning any where in continual succession

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above

• *Sir Isaac Newton.*

above two hundred and sixty years: And that the way of calculating and accounting for these long reigns in the first ages, was by a *technical chronology* that was introduced by *Timæus*, and other *Grecian* writers, who, after the example of the *Ægyptians*, have taken the reigns of Kings for generations, and reckoned three generations to an hundred, and sometimes to an hundred and twenty years.

Gelanor.

But to proceed according to the common received accounts of these Kings, *Sthenelas* reigned eleven years, and was succeeded by his son *Gelanor*. In his time there happened a contest between the two sons of *Belus*, *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*; the former of which was King of *Ægypt*, and gave his name to the country. He would have matched his fifty sons to the same number of daughters of his brother *Danaus*; which being contrary to the advice of the oracle, he refused, and set sail with them first to *Rhodes*, and thence to *Argos*. The ship was called *Pentecontor*, and is noted as the first of any bulk that came into *Greece*. At *Argos* he contended with *Gelanor* for the kingdom, as descended from *Epaphus* son of the first *Io*. As he was making out his pretensions to the people, a wolf happened to kill an ox grazing by the walls. This accident was interpreted by the people in favour of *Danaus*, whom as a stranger they took to signify the wolf, and thereupon adjudged the kingdom to the *Ægyptian*. But *Ægyptus* still jealous of
the

Danaus.

the increase of his brother's power by contracting new alliances upon his daughters marriages, sent his fifty sons down to *Argos* with an army to force him to comply with his former demand. The young men gained their uncle's consent; but he had secretly provided his daughters with daggers, and instructions to murder their husbands the first night. This act of the *Danaides* was looked upon as one of the most barbarous exploits of antiquity: For the only one who escaped out of this general massacre, was *Lynceus*, the husband of *Hypermnestra*, who was therefore accused by her father, and brought to judgment, but acquitted. *Danaus* in his reign built the tower which went by the name of *Larissa*; and his daughters are said to have supplied the city with water by the invention of wells, which they probably brought out of *Ægypt*, where water was scarce; and this is the most natural foundation of the fable, that for their cruelty to their husbands, they were condemned to draw water in leaky vessels.

All of the Danaides.

Danaus, after fifty years, was succeeded by *Lynceus*, his son-in-law. And he, after forty-one more, by his son *Abas*, who reigned twenty-three. This *Abas* has been confounded with another of that name, who built *Abæa* in *Phocis*, and might be the prince, from whom the inhabitants of the island of *Eubæa* were anciently called *Abantes*. By which of these two the succession in this king-

Lynceus.

Abas.

Prætus
and Acris-
fius.

Targets
first used.

Danae.

Account of
oracles.

kingdom was carried on, is not clear: But one of them left two sons *Acrisius* and *Prætus*, who being twins contended for the kingdom; which *Prætus* first enjoyed for seventeen years, and then was expelled by *Acrisius* into *Lycia*; from whence he returned with some considerable force, seized upon *Tyrinthe*, and gave his brother battle, wherein they are the first recorded to have used targets. But it not being a decisive battle, they came to an accommodation, and divided the kingdom, so far at least, that *Acrisius* kept possession of *Argos*, and let his brother enjoy *Tyrinthe*, and some other maritime places. *Acrisius* had one only daughter named *Danae*, who the oracle told him should have a son that would procure his death.

But before we proceed, it may not be amiss to give some account of these *oracles*, which made up so considerable a part of the *Grecian superstition*. They were ranked among the noblest and most religious kinds of divination, the design of them being to settle such an immediate way of converse with their gods, as to be able by them not only to explain things intricate and obscure, but also to anticipate the knowledge of future events, and that with far greater certainty, than they could hope for from men, who out of ignorance and prejudice must sometimes either conceal, or betray the truth. So that this became the only safe way of deliberating upon affairs of any consequence

sequence, either public or private. Whether to proclaim war, or conclude a peace, to institute a new form of government, or enact new laws, all was to be done with the advice and approbation of the oracle, whose determinations were always held sacred and inviolable. As to the causes of oracles, *Jupiter* was looked upon as the first cause of this and all other sorts of divination; he had the book of fate before him, and out of that revealed either more or less, as he pleased, to *inferior demons*. But to argue more rationally, this way of access to the gods has been branded as one of the earliest and grossest pieces of *priestcraft*, that obtained in the world. For the priests whose dependence was on the oracles, when they found the cheat had got sufficient footing, allowed no man to consult the gods without costly sacrifices and rich presents to themselves: And as few could bear this expence, it served to raise their credit among the common people, by keeping them at an awful distance. And, to heighten their esteem with the better and wealthier sort, even they were only admitted upon a few stated days. By which the thing appeared still more mysterious, and for want of this good management must quickly have been seen through, and fell to the ground. But whatever juggling there was as to the religious part, oracles had certainly a good effect as to the public, being admirably suited to the
genius

genius of a people, who would join in the most desperate expedition, and admit of any change of government, when they understood by the oracle it was the irresistible will of the gods. This was the method *Minos*, *Lycurgus*, and all the famous law-givers took; and indeed they found the people so entirely devoted to this part of religion, that it was generally the easiest, and sometimes the only way of winning them into a compliance. And then they took care to have them delivered in such ambiguous terms, as to admit of different constructions according to the exigency of the times; so that they were generally interpreted to the advantage of the state, unless sometimes there happened to be bribery or flattery in the case; as when *Demosthenes* complained that the *Pythia* *Philippized*. The most numerous, and of greatest repute, were the oracles of *Apollo*, who, 'in subordination to *Jupiter*, was appointed to preside over, and inspire all sorts of *prophets* and *diviners*. And amongst these the *Delphian* challenged the first place, not so much in respect of its antiquity, as its perspicuity, and certainty; insomuch that the answers of the *Tripes* came to be used proverbially for *clear and infallible truths*. Here we must not omit the first *Pythia* or priestess of this famous oracle, *Phemonoe*, who is placed under the reign of *Acrisius*, and by most recorded as the first who clothed the answers of the oracle in *Hexameter* verse. They found

Phemo-
noe
the first
Pythia.

found a secret charm in numbers, which made every thing look pompous and weighty: And hence it became the general practice of legislators, and philosophers, to deliver their laws and maxims in that dress; and scarce any thing in those ages was writ of excellence or moment, but in verse. This was the *dawn of poetry*, which soon grew into repute; and so long as it served to such noble purposes, as *religion* and *government*, poets were highly honoured, and admitted into a share of the administration. But by that time it arrived to any perfection, they pursued more mean and servile ends; and as they prostituted their muse, and debased the subject, they sunk proportionably in their esteem and dignity. As to the history of oracles, we find them mentioned in the very *infancy of Greece*; and it is as uncertain when they were finally extinct, as when they begun. For they often lost their prophetic faculty for some time, and recovered it again. I know it is a common opinion, that they were universally silenced upon our *Saviour's* appearance in the world: And if the *devil* had been permitted for so many ages to delude mankind, it might probably have been so. But we are assured from history, that several of them continued until the reign of *Julian the Apostate*, and were consulted by him: And therefore I look upon the whole business as of a human contrivance, an egregious imposture founded upon

superstition, and carried on by *policy* and *interest*, until the *brighter oracles* of the *holy scriptures* dispelled these mists of *error* and *enthusiasm*.

To return to *Acrisius* ; upon this advice of the oracle, he kept his daughter *Danae* under very close confinement : But *Jupiter* came to her in a shower of gold, or rather her uncle *Prætus* bribed her keepers, and left her with child of *Perseus*. It is observed of most of the famous men of antiquity, that they were begotten by adultery and incest. If their mothers were of a noble descent, the theft was fathered upon some of the gods ; and the people in regard to their virtue, and good offices to the public, were easily satisfied in the belief of it. Thus *Perseus* was of the number of those who cast the reproach of their birth upon *Jupiter*. The boy with his mother was said to be thrown into the sea, but was miraculously conveyed to the island *Seriphus*, and, like the heroes of those times, signalized his youth by destroying of monsters, particularly the *Gorgon Medusa*, whose head he wore as a trophy in the middle of his shield. It is thought this *Medusa* was a beautiful queen in *Africa*, and that *Perseus* went with an army out of *Peloponnesus*, and conquered her. So that this expedition may be more properly placed after his return home upon his grand-father's death. He married *Andromeda*, after he had delivered her from a sea monster, or rather rescued her from one *Phenix*, who was sailing away with

The Gorgon Medusa.

with her in a ship called *the Whale*, and after that returned to *Argos* to see his grand-father. But *Acrisius*, in hopes to defeat the oracle, retired into *Thessaly*; where *Perseus* happening to meet him at some public games there, killed him by an accidental blow with a quoit, after a reign of thirty-one years. About this time came into Greece *Pelops*, the son of *Tantalus* King of *Sipylus* in *Phrygia*. He had been worsted in war by *Ilus* the son of *Tros*, and fled for refuge to *Oenomaus* King of *Pisa* in *Elis*, where he succeeding him in the kingdom by marrying his daughter *Hippodamia*. He had by her a numerous issue, and by their marriages, and a reign of fifty-eight years, got footing in most parts of the *Peninsula*, calling it from himself, *Peloponnesus*. His posterity maintained their ground; and the family of the *Pelopidae* became as remarkable both for their exploits, and their misfortunes, as any in *Greece*.

Perseus, upon the formentioned accident, took such an aversion to *Argos*, that he translated the regal seat to *Mycenæ*, where he founded both a city and kingdom. So that the fall of *Argos* is generally dated from the death of *Acrisius*, after it had continued from its supposed founder *Inachus*, about 544 years. Some indeed look upon this state of *Mycenæ* only as a continuation of the kingdom of *Argos*, and therefore assign but one succession of Kings to both places. But others affirm, with more colour

The reputed fall of Argos upon the death of Acrisius.
A. M.
2692.

of

Argos divided.

of reason, that *Perseus* made an actual exchange with his cousin *Megapenthes*, who was then reigning at *Tyrinthe* in the right of his father *Prætus*; that *Megapenthes* was succeeded at *Argos* by his son *Anaxagoras*, who contented himself with a third of the kingdom, divided the rest between two brothers. *Melampus* and *Bias*; the former of which had cured the *Prætides* his aunts of their madness, by the use of *Hellebore*. However this dismembering of *Argos* so lessened the figure her princes were wont to make, and withal, wrought such a confusion in their affairs, that it is hardly possible to rank them in any order of time and place. We can only conclude in general, that *Perseus* altered the succession, without putting a final period to the kingdom: For we find several Kings mentioned even after *Anaxagoras*; as *Alector*, *Iphis Eteocles*, who was killed in the *Theban* war, *Talaos* the son of *Bias* *Adrastus*, and his son-in-law *Tydeus* the father of *Diomedes*.

Foundation of Mycenæ by Perseus.

Amidst these uncertainties let us return to *Mycenæ*, where we left *Perseus* settling his new-raised kingdom, which he enjoyed fifty-eight years. We must allow him one of the first places among the heroes of these times, especially if we may add to his other achievements the conquest of *Persia*, which it is thought took its name from him, or his son *Perses*. But it does not appear, that the *Grecians* had yet made any inroads into the *East*, much less with a body

body of men sufficient to subdue such a vast tract of land. *Perseus* left five sons, *Perfes*, *Alcæus* father of *Amphitryon*, *Sthenelus*, *Electryon* and *Maſtor*. It is thought he was ſucceeded by *Maſtor*, and he by his brother *Electryon*, father of *Alcmena*. But this opinion not being generally received, we muſt look upon *Sthenelus* as his immediate Succeſſor; and to ſalve theſe Difficulties, have recourſe to the common method of *chronologers*, who aſſign to ſome of the ſucceeding Kings an over-plus of years to account for the two former, whoſe reigns are uncertain. *Sthenelus* reigned eight years, and by *Aſtydamia*, the daughter of *Pelops*, left *Euryſtheus* his ſucceſſor, who is noted for the difficult taſks he impoſed on *Alcæus*, better known by his ſurname *Hercules*, given him upon the fame of his exploits; of whom we muſt give ſome account, ſince his actions are the moſt talked of, though with the leaſt certainty, of all the heroes of antiquity. For ſome reckon up three, others four, *Cicero* ſix, and *Varro* forty-four of this name: Almoſt every age and country had its *Hercules*, it being a common cuſtom to call the moſt ancient Kings by the name of *Saturn*, their ſons by that of *Jupiter*, and the moſt valiant and active of their grand-ſons by this of *Hercules*. Hence it became difficult to diſtinguiſh among ſo many; and therefore the actions of all are generally aſcribed to this latter: So that it is eaſier to ſay he was certainly very

Sthenelus.

Euryſtheus.

Account of Hercules.

eminent in his time, than to tell you by what means he became so. This *Hercules* was the son of *Amphitryon* and *Alcmena*, both descended immediately from *Perseus*; though the poets assign *Jupiter* for his father, which may be understood of some neighbouring prince. For the *Phœnicians*, upon their first coming into *Greece*, gave the name of *Jao-pater*, or *Jupiter*, to every King. His early valour, and being so nearly related to the crown, gave *Eurystheus* sufficient umbrage; who therefore, to be honourably rid of him, put him upon all the dangerous enterprizes he could devise. The chief of which are included in his *twelve labours*: But they are described in so romantic a manner, that it is hardly consistent with the gravity of history to relate them. For what shall we say to his *Nemean Lion*, his *Hydra*, his *Erymanthian Boar*, and the rest of his incredible acts, unless we understand by them the most notorious robbers, murderers, and tyrants subdued by him, which like so many *pests*, and *monsters of mankind*, at that time infested the world? To these twelve labours, which he performed chiefly at the instigation of *Eurystheus*, whose jealousy gave the chief rise to his glory, we may add several others which he undertook of himself: And our esteem of them is not so much the effect of a blind zeal for antiquity, as the respect men naturally have for a generous valour, which protects the weak instead of insulting them,

them, and is so far from committing violence, that it is wholly employed in repressing it. But withal it must be owned, there was a great deal of the spirit of *knight-errantry* in these first ages of the world, when the heroes were not content to signalize themselves at home by freeing their country, but roved about in search of foreign adventures. And hither may be referred the famous *expedition* of the *Argonauts*; which falling in with these times, and being the first recorded of that kind, must not be omitted.

The chief captain of this Voyage was *Jason*, a young prince of *Iolcus* in *Thessaly*, the son of *Æson*, and fourth in descent from *Æolus*; who was put upon it by *Pelias* his uncle, who had usurped the kingdom. *Jason* reflecting with himself what renown *Perseus* and others had lately gained, closed with his advice; and declaring his intention, was seconded by many young noblemen, insomuch that above fifty of the flower of *Greece* gave in their names to the expedition. The chief of which, besides *Jason*, and *Hercules*, were *Orpheus*, who also writ an account of it, *Oileus* father of the younger *Ajax*, *Telamon* father of the other *Ajax*, with his brother *Peleus* father of *Achilles*, both the sons of *Æacus*, *Castor* and *Pollux* sons of *Tyndareus* King of *Sparta*, and *Argus* who built the ship, which from him was called *Argo*, and his companions *Argonautæ*. The design of their Voy-

*Expedition
of the Ar-
gonauts.*

age was to fetch back the *golden fleece*, as the fable calls it, from *Æetes* King of *Colchos* in *Asia*, or in more plain terms to plunder him of some vast treasure, which they had heard was in his possession. Accordingly they set sail from a bay in *Thessaly* near *Jolcus*, and having touched at *Lemnos*, and other places, met with several fabulous encounters in their passage and return, too many, and too incredible to enumerate. Such were the *Symplegades*, the *Syrens*, the *Harpies*, *Scylla*, and *Charybdis*, which were disguised by *Orpheus* under poetical morals, and seems to have been copied afterwards by *Homer* in his travels of *Ulysses*. But being arrived at *Colchos*, by the assistance of *Medea* the King's daughter, who fell in love with *Jason*, they got the treasure, and returned home, taking *Medea* with them by way of reprisal, (as they gave out) for *Io*, who was formerly stole from *Argos*. *Medea* was married to *Jason*, and afterwards upon his abandoning her, to *Ægeus* King of *Athens*; where her skill in magick and witchcraft, and her many tragical Adventures, have furnished sufficient matter for the stage.

To return to *Hercules*, his end is made to be of a piece with the most extravagant scenes of his life. His applause in the world had gained him a sufficient number both of wives and mistresses; of whom the most noted were *Megara*, *Iole*, *Deianeira*, and *Omphale*: And
whether

whether he fell a sacrifice to their jealous resentment by poison, or burnt himself in a fit of phrenzy upon mount *Oeta*, or what else became of him, more than that he died, about the fifty-second year of his age, is not easily determined.

*Death of
Hercules.*

Eurystheus continued his resentment even after his death, and expressed it to his children, by commanding *Hyllus* and the rest, about sixty in number, as they grew up, to quit *Peloponnesus*. They not being in a capacity to resist him, betook themselves to *Athens*, where they were harboured and protected. *Eurystheus* finding them thus settled in a Body, and carrying it high upon their own descent, and their father's merit, thought them still too near him; and therefore invaded *Attica*, with a design to extirpate them. But by the assistance of the *Athenians* they made head against him, and slew both him and his sons in the forty-third year of his reign; and then in their turn invaded *Peloponnesus*. But the plague raging there, and the oracle attributing it to their coming before their time, they retired to *Marathon*. After three years they made another attempt: For so they interpreted the oracle, which told them they must stay *three crops*, but by which was meant *three generations*. The armies being about to engage, *Hyllus* would decide the quarrel in his own person, and was slain by *Echemus* King of *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, who accepted his challenge. Whereupon the rest returned, and were most of them in-

corporated with the *Dores* about *Oeta*, by the means of *Ægimius* their King, who had adopted *Hyllus*, in return of the kindness he had received from *Hercules*, who had restored him to his kingdom. After several fruitless attempts made by them and their posterity, they at last recovered their ancient footing in these parts. But this *descent* of the *Heraclidæ* must be referred to its proper place.

Eurystheus, upon his expedition into *Attica*, had committed the government of *Mycenæ* to his uncle *Atreus* the son of *Pelops*; who, upon his nephew's death, kept possession of it for himself: And hence the *Pelopidæ* got the ascendant over the *Perseides*, and became in effect masters of *Peloponnesus*. *Atreus* is thought to have reigned jointly with his brother *Thyestes*: But this latter being taken in adultery with his wife *Ærope*, was banished; and when he was afterwards recalled, *Atreus* killed his children, and served them up to him at table; whence arose the proverb of *Thyestes's supper*. At the horror of this fact the sun was said to go back; by which some understood *Atreus's* skill in astronomy, whereby he found out the eclipse of the sun, and the difference of its motion from that of the starry heaven. There is also another brother mentioned by the name of *Plis-*
thenes, father of *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, who are therefore to be accounted only the adopted sons of *Atreus*, to whose care they were committed.

mitted. But *Plisthenes* was rather the son of *Atreus*; and if he succeeded him, (as it is probable he did) his years may be comprehended under *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, to whom is assigned a reign of sixty-five years. However, it is certain *Agamemnon* succeeded as next heir of the *Pelopidae*: Who being a prince of prudence and courage, obtained the sovereignty not only of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*, but of all as far as *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, and the country which was afterwards called *Achaia*. It was no small addition to his titles to be chosen general of the expedition against *Troy*; which happening at this time, must be more than barely mentioned, since it was an action, wherein all the parts of *Greece* were almost equally concerned.

The destruction of *Troy* is one of the most famous *Epochas* of antiquity, being the first term to which the *Grecian* historians referred their most remarkable transactions. It was this enterprize that properly put an end to the infancy of *Greece*, wherein she tried her united forces, and forewarned *Asia*, that she should one day submit to her yoke. But before we proceed to particulars, it will be necessary to premise something of the certainty of this war, which is not so established, but that several have called in question either the whole, or the greatest part of what the ancients have left us concerning it. For some will not allow there ever were such persons living as *Agamemnon*,

The kingdom, and war of Troy.

Achilles, Hector, Paris, and Helena. Others pretend to collect from ancient *Aegyptian* monuments, that *Helena* was actually married to *Paris* the son of *Priam*; against whom the *Grecians*, out of a motive of jealousy, entered into a general confederacy, and were worsted in several conflicts, in one of which *Achilles* was slain by *Hector*.

It must be confessed the *Grecians* were far from being exact in their annals, from which neglect, together with the additional fictions of the poets, by which they were adulterated, have proceeded so many different accounts of their most noted occurrences. But as the ruins of *Troy* are undeniable arguments of its former greatness, they who reject the story as fabulous, ascribe its fall to earthquakes and inundations, and call the elements to their aid to maintain the testimony of a certain *Aegyptian* priest, in opposition to the common consent both of *Greek* and *Latin* historians. As to the *historians* themselves, it must be owned most of those whose names are transmitted to posterity, lived some ages after the *Trojan* war: (For *Dares Phrygius*, and *Dictys Cretensis*, as they appear now in the world, can hardly be accounted *genuine*.) But it does not from thence follow, that they had no authority but that of *Homer* for what they said. For neither was *Homer* the first and only author, (as some will have it) who gave an account of this expedition. There are several recorded before him, from whom

whom undoubtedly he copied, as others did from him. And as some reject the whole story, so others greedily catch at the least remains of antiquity. They fancy the *Ilias* a faithful, intire narrative, and will rather take from the *author* the title of a *poet*, than not put him in the same rank with solid *historians*. There is certainly a *medium* to be observed between these *extremes*; of which *Homer* himself, as being the great master, from whom we derive our rules of poetry, was sensible. He knew he might vary from the truth as to *particulars*, though not as to the *main subject*; that he might adorn his poem with *probable falsities*, but that the *principal action* ought always to have some real foundation in history. How far he has observed this rule, will better appear by taking a short survey of the history of *Troy*, from the first accounts we have of it.

What *Troy* was originally before *Teucer's* time, and how long he reigned there, we are not sufficiently informed. And therefore the foundation of it is generally ascribed to *Dardanus* an *Arcadian*, who with several of his countrymen under his conduct coasting along *Europe* touched at *Samothrace*, and from thence seated himself in *Phrygia*, a province of *Asia Minor*, where *Teucer* was King; who gave him his daughter, and with her some ground near the sea, where he built the city, which with the territory, was from himself called *Dardania*.
upon

Teucer.

Dardanus.

Upon this account some fancy he reigned jointly with his father-in-law: But it is more certain he succeeded him in his whole dominions, and the people, before called *Teuceri*, were from him named *Dardani*. Whatever the *Grecians* say of their *Trojan* expedition, which they would have considered as a *prelude* to their conquests over the *Barbarians*, from hence it appears, that the *Trojans* were properly a *Grecian* colony. Besides, they had *Grecian* names, worshiped the same divinities; and *Homer* has left room to conjecture, that they spoke the same language: Otherwise it is hard to conceive how a poet used to be particular in the minutest circumstances almost to trifling, should describe such frequent conferences without ever employing an interpreter between them. *Dardanus*, after a reign of sixty-five years, left the kingdom to his son *Eriethonius*, who was reported to have been extremely rich and fortunate. He, after forty-six years, was succeeded by his son *Tros*, from whom the country took the name of *Troas*, and the city, *Troja*. *Tros* had three sons, *Ilus*, *Assaracus*, and *Ganymede*. From *Assaracus* is derived the pedigree of *Æneas*. *Ganymede* was stole away by *Tantalus* father of *Pelops*, and by consequence great grand-father to *Agamemnon*; which being highly resented by his brother *Ilus*, he drove *Tantalus* out of his territories, and made him fly for refuge into *Greece*, where with his son *Pelops* (as was before hinted) he

Erietho-
nius.

Tros.

His three
sons, Ilus,
Assaracus,
and Ga-
nymede.

he laid the foundation of the *Pelopidæ*. This became the grounds of an hereditary quarrel between the families of *Priam* and *Agamemnon*; and was probably the chief, though not the common reputed cause of the *Trojan* war. For it seems to have been by way of reprisal, that *Paris*, *Ilus*'s great grandson, stole away *Helen* from *Menelaus*, who was great-grand-son to *Tantalus*. *Ilus*, after forty-nine years, succeeded *Ilus*. his father *Tros*. Some ascribe to him the foundation of the city, which from him was called *Ilium*, and was the constant *Grecian* name, as *Troja* was the *Latin*. Others refer this honour to *Tros*: But I rather close with those who give it to *Dardanus*, and believe the others only enlarged and beautified it, and changed the name. *Ilus*, after forty years, left the kingdom to his son *Laomedon*; who, by the assistance of *Nep-* *Laomedon*. *tune* and *Apollo*, walled in the city, or, in other terms, rifled their temples to defray the expence. For which piece of sacrilege, and not making restitution, the oracle told him, there was no other way of appeasing the Gods, but by exposing a *Trojan* Virgin to be devoured by a sea-monster. The lot fell upon his own daughter *Hesione* who was rescued by *Hercules*, and the monster was killed. But *Laomedon*, who was noted for perjury, denying the reward he had promised for this service, *Hercules* laid siege to the city, took and plundered it, killed *Laomedon*, and took his son *Podarces* prisoner, who was

Priamus.

His son
Paris.

was afterwards redeemed by the *Trojans*, and from thence had the name of *Priamus*. Some make *Priam* rather assisting to *Hercules* than otherwise; and that for his integrity and justice, he was placed by him in his father's throne, after a reign of forty-four years. *Priam* had a large extent of dominion, reaching from *Tenedos* to the upper *Phrygia*, containing nine provinces, with a proportionable number of towns. He rebuilt the city and the walls, and made it more defensible with forts and bastions, which from thence took the name of *Pergama*. His court was full of pomp and splendour; and thus for many years he enjoyed an uninterrupted scene of prosperity. To add to which, he had a numerous issue of fifty sons, great part of them legitimate by *Hecuba* his second wife. She dreamt, when she was big with *Paris*, that she should be delivered of a fire-brand, which would reduce the city to ashes. Whereupon *Priam* exposed the infant upon mount *Ida*: But by his mother's care and compassion, he was brought up among the shepherds; and from signalizing himself in their behalf against the robbers of those times, obtained the name of *Alexander*. Being grown up, whether his generous qualities betrayed his birth, or whether it was by his mother's contrivance, who had managed the secret, he was made known to his father, and received with a great deal of satisfaction. Soon after he sailed into
Greece,

Greece, under a pretence of demanding his aunt *Hesione*, carried away by *Hercules*, and married to *Telamon* the father of *Ajax*; but (as the event shewed) with a design upon *Helena*, the wife of *Menelaus* King of *Sparta*. Yet it is probable, he had no farther intent than most of the young active heroes of these times, when they went in search of foreign adventures. Such seems to be his arrival at *Sparta*, where he was received by *Menelaus* with all the expressions of kindness and civility. He soon fell in league with *Helena* his wife, and carried her away with him, but (as most of the rapes of antiquity were) with her own consent. I have mentioned several old grudges between the *Grecians* and *Asiatics*, with whom the *Trojans* generally sided, as being their neighbours. So that whatever *Paris's* intentions at first were, he was certainly glad of this opportunity of gratifying his love, and revenging the quarrels of his country and family. For fear of being pursued, he carried her first to *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*, where some say they were married, and from thence to *Troy*; where they were no sooner arrived, but *Sparta* was in an uproar, and *Greece* in general immediately took the alarm. For *Menelaus* his resentment was soon seconded by his brother *Agamemnon*, who bearing the chief sway in *Peloponnesus*, used his utmost efforts to engage all the princes of *Greece*, and make it a national quarrel. And one reason why he succeeded so easily in this design

Rape of
Helen.
was,

was, that *Helen* being the famed *beauty* of those times, her father *Tyndareus* had made it a condition to the young princes who addressed her, that wherever she should fix her choice, they should all in general oblige themselves by oath, in case she was stole, to assist in her recovery.

Command-
ers of the
Grecian
Forces.

Accordingly *Agamemnon* assembled most of the noted captains at *Ægium* a town in *Achaia*, to concert measures for carrying on the war, where they chose him their general; and pursuant to this agreement, they met afterwards, with their respective quotas of men and ships, at *Aulis* a sea-port of *Bæotia*; where they took an oath not to return, until they had either recovered *Helen*, or taken *Troy*. Under *Agamemnon*, who commanded in chief, the *Spartans* were headed by his brother *Menelaus*; the *Argives* by *Diomedes*, *Sthenelus*, and *Euryalus*; the *Messenians* by *Nestor*, who by his mature counsel and experience made sufficient amends for the other infirmities of his age; the *Arcadians* by *Agapenor*; the *Eleans* by *Polyxenus*, *Amphimachus*, *Thalpius*, and *Diores*, who were partners in the kingdom. As for the States without the *Isthmus* the *Athenians* were under the conduct of *Meneestheus* their King; the *Megarensians*, with the island *Salamis*, under *Ajax*, the son of *Telamon*; the *Phocians* under *Schedius* and *Epistrophus*, the sons of *Ipbilus* the *Argonaut*; the *Ætolians* under *Tboas*; *Dulichium*, with the isles of *Echinades*,
under

under *Meges*; the *Cephalenians*, *Zacynthians*, and the inhabitants of *Ithaca* under *Ulysses*. The *Bæotian* forces had also five commanders, *Leitus*, *Arcefilaus*, *Prothoënar*, *Clonius*, and *Tersander* the son of *Polynices* King of *Thebes*; which latter being killed in *Mysia* had his place supplied by *Peneleus*. The *Orchomenians* were commanded by two brothers, *Ascalaphus* and *Jalmenus*; the *Locri*, *Opuntii*, and *Epicnemidii* by the younger *Ajax* the son of *Oileus*; and the *Eubæans*, under the name of the *Abantes*, by *Elephenor*. Out of the country which was then called *Pthiotis*, and afterwards *Thessaly*, *Achilles* with his friend *Patroclus* brought the *Myrmidones*, *Achæi*, and *Hellenes*, which latter name, I observed, had not yet universally obtained in *Greece*. *Protesilaus* the son of *Iphiclus*, *Philoctetes* of *Pæan*, *Podalirius*, and *Machaon* of *Æsculapius*, *Eumelus*, *Euripylus*, *Polyætus*, and *Leonteus* brought in their several parties out of the neighbourhood, with *Guneus* who commanded the *Ænians*, and *Peribæii*, and *Prothous*, the *Magnetes*. There are also mentioned *Idmeneus*, and *Meriones*, as commanders of the *Cretan* forces; and *Tlepomelus* the son of *Hercules*, of the *Rhodian*. From *Syma* came *Nireus*; from *Cos*, *Carpathus*, and other neighbouring isles, *Phidippus* and *Antiphus* of the posterity of *Hercules*. So that the *Acarnanians* were the only people of note, who did not appear in this general expedition. What number these forces amounted to, will best appear from the
num-

Number of
the men
and ships

number of their ships, which by some are computed at a thousand, but more generally by others at twelve hundred; whereof the largest carried an hundred and twenty men, and the least fifty, who were both soldiers and mariners. And by a middle computation between these extremes, the number of men transported in them will amount to about an hundred thousand; which was not reckoned such a vast number to be collected throughout the whole body of Greece: But they wanted money and provisions more than men, having already more than they could subsist. For their ships being small, and without decks, such as the pirates used, they could carry very little provision with them.

They em-
bark at
Aulis.

The first
conflict
upon their
arrival.

In this condition they embarked at *Aulis*; touched at *Lemnos*, and from thence were driven by mistake into *Mysia*; where making incursions into the country, *Telephes* the prince made head against them, and repulsed them with the loss of *Thersander* the *Bæotian* general. There happened a conflict immediately upon their arrival at *Troy*; wherein *Protesilaus*, and several others were slain, with little loss on the *Trojans* side. The *Grecians* found, by this warm reception, what they were to expect; and having by their numbers gained ground enough to encamp, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* by way of embassy to demand *Helen*. The business was debated in council; where *Antenor* and most of the grave members were for delivering her up; but *Priam*, though otherwise prudent.

prudent enough, yet out of indulgence to his son, rather closed with the other part of the council; and rejecting the demand, dismissed the ambassadors.

This aggravation confirmed both parties in their preparations for war; and in the next engagement the *Trojans* were worsted. After which the *Grecians* were forced through scarcity of provisions to divide their army; one part being employed in tilling the *Chersonese*; and another sent, for the immediate relief of the camp, to scour the seas; and indeed piracy in those days was more frequent, and more allowable than afterwards: Others were left to live at discretion, by spoiling and ravaging the country. These proved such favourable diversions to the *Trojans*, as gave them time not only to strengthen their alliances with their neighbours in *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mysia*, and most parts of the *Lesser Asia*, but also to form new ones with foreign princes, who sent them considerable reinforcements. The *Grecians* had no more men upon the spot, than would serve to annoy the town, and secure themselves, *Achilles* being sent with a great detachment to harass the country, and cut off provisions from the city. Wherein he succeeded so well, that he took twenty-three towns, and in them a great deal of booty; upon the division whereof he was highly disgusted, because he had taken the greatest part of it himself. He had taken with

*A second
engage-
ment.*

Palamedes.

him *Palamedes*; who, as he was carrying on the war in *Lesbos*, was traduced by the false suggestions of *Ulysses*, and stoned in the camp as a traitor. The truth is, he had deserved very well of the army for his courage, wisdom, and learning; and the envy of *Ulysses* was the chief grounds of their quarrel. To *Palamedes* are ascribed sixteen letters of the *Greek alphabet*, or rather four, which he added to the sixteen before invented by *Cadmus*; as also the ordering and ranking of an army, (though this was in a great measure owing to *Meneſtheus*) with the watch-word, and several sorts of games to divert the soldiers. His death was highly resented by the elder *Ajax*, and more particularly by *Achilles*, who for this, and his small share in the booty, would not in a great while be persuaded to prosecute the war; which seems a more probable cause for his anger, than what the poet assigns of *Agamemnon's* taking his mistress from him.

To relate all the particulars of this war would be tedious, and perhaps not warrantable. For what the first nine years produced, amounted to no more than sallies and skirmishes, wherein the town could not suffer extremely, being at first well provided with necessaries, having equal numbers to pour out upon those who were before it, and a safe retreat upon any miscarriage. So that most agree there was no considerable action from the first year to the tenth;
and

and *Herodotus's* opinion is very probable, that the *Grecians* did not lie before the town the first nine years; but that the *Trojan* dominions consisting of nine large principalities, they found employment enough to beat up and down the country, spoiling and plundering all before them, until at last they came of course to block up their capital city; which has questionless introduced the mistake of converting this war, which lasted in all ten years, into a *decennial* siege.

It is certain, that in the beginning of the summer in which *Troy* was taken, the *Grecians* presented themselves in a body before the town. The besieged were easily drawn out, as being little inferior to them either in numbers or commanders; the chief of which were *Heſtor*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, and the other sons of *Priam*; *Æneas*, *Antenor*, and his sons; *Polydamus* and *Euphorbus*, the sons of *Pantbus*; *Sarpedon* King of *Lycia*; *Glaucus*, and *Asius*; besides foreign recruits under *Rhesus*, *Memnon*, and others, who came towards the end of the war. Upon *Heſtor's* appearing without the walls, things seemed to tend to a decisive battle; but there were several fought with various success, the greatest of which was that upon the plain at King *Ilus's* tomb; and another at the very camp of the *Grecians*, wherein *Heſtor* broke through their intrenchments, and began to fire their ships. The *Grecian* captains were

*Account of
the Trojan
forces.*

*A great
battle at
King Ilus's
tomb.*

*Another in
the Gre-
cian camp.*

most of them wounded, except *Ajax* and his brother *Teucer*; and their case was almost desperate, when *Patroclus* with much difficulty obtained leave of his friend *Achilles* to march with his *Myrmidons* to their relief. By the assistance of these troops (which *Achilles* had kept more out of a pique than for a reserve) the *Grecians* rallied, and after a sharp engagement repulsed the *Trojans*. *Patroclus* had killed *Sarpedon* and others, and was in pursuit of *Hector*, when *Euphorbus* came behind and wounded him, and *Hector* turned and accomplished his death. *Euphorbus* was also killed by *Menelaus*; and this is he, whose soul *Pythagoras* affirmed, according to his notion of *transmigration*, to have passed into his own body. *Achilles* was roused at the death of his friend, and laying aside all private quarrels and resentment against the generals, resolved to push on for conquest and revenge. Accordingly he renewed the fight, and took twelve young men, whom, as a victim to *Patroclus*, he killed at his funeral: He then singled out *Hector*, slew him, and dragged his body in triumph at his chariot-wheels, until it was ransomed by *Priam*. His death was accompanied with that of *Memnon*, *Troilus*, and others; but was soon after revenged by *Paris*, who slew *Achilles* by some treacherous stratagem. What way he effected it, I had rather leave undetermined, than take up with the poet's account of it; who, to work up love enough in his

Patroclus
killed:

Also Hec-
tor,

Achilles,

his hero's character, gives him a view of *Polyxena*, *Priam's* daughter, from the walls; upon which he falls violently in love, and proceeds to marriage; at which solemnity he was shot with a dart by *Paris*, who lay concealed behind an image in the temple. But the incendiary himself was afterwards slain by *Philoctetes*, and *Helen* given to his brother *Deiphobus*. and Paris.

The *Trojans*, though they had lost their chief supports, still placed a great confidence in their *Palladium*. They had been told the city would never be taken, so long as that image of *Minerva* was in it; and had the same superstitious opinion of it, that the *Romans* afterwards had of their *Ancile* in the time of *Numa Pompilius*, which, like that, was pretended to have dropt from the gods as a pledge of their favour. But the fatal time approaching, the *Palladium* was stole; and the city either betrayed by *Antenor* and *Aeneas*, or taken (as others will have it) by the stratagem of the *wooden horse*. But to consider this horse in the manner it is described, crammed with men in ambush, and those the chief officers in the army, must argue very odd management on both sides, either that the *Grecians* should expose themselves, or the *Trojans* admit them; and seems even in poetry rather an extravagance, than an ornament. Perhaps this was the *battering ram*, which the *Romans* afterwards made use of, and derived from *Greece*. The Palladium.

Troy
taken.
A. M.
2820.

Pliny fixes the time of its invention to the *Trojan* war, and says it gave occasion to the story of the *wooden horse*. Which looks the more probable, because it was the constant practice of those times to wrap up the original of every invention in fables: The reason of which might be, that the *Grecians* generally fetched their knowledge out of the *East*, and being thus disguised, it passed more easily for their own. But whatever image it bore, *Pausanias* says plainly it was a sort of battering engine erected by one *Epeus*, and that a pattern of it stood in the castle of *Athens*. This they employed against the walls, and made a considerable breach, by which the whole *Grecian* army entered in the night, and dispersing themselves into every quarter of the town, it was taken, plundered, and burnt. *Priam* with great part of his family, and the inhabitants in general were barbarously murdered, without respect to age, quality, or the places where they had taken sanctuary. *Antenor* and *Aeneas* were excepted out of this general massacre; which seems to confirm their having corresponded with the enemy, to let the town be surprised.

Thus fell *Troy*, no less famous to posterity for having been the *Grecians* first great scene of action, than that it withstood their united power so long; and so far happy in its fall, in having given birth to the two best poems that the world ever yet produced, and in them to survive

vive its own latest ruins. There is another honour paid to it by posterity, in that most nations have expressed a particular vanity in bringing their descent from the scattered remains of the *Trojans*. But those who had most colour for their pretensions were the *Romans*, who were first the *Albans*, seated in *Italy* by *Æneas*; the *Venetians* by *Antenor*, who came with the *Heneti* into the *Adriatic* sea, and built *Padua*; and the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, *Priam's* son. With the city fell the kingdom, in the 2820th year of the world, and 408 before the *Olympiads*, after it had flourished from its founder *Dardanus* to *Priam*, in a regular succession from father to son, the space of 296 years.

Whatever *Troy* suffered, the *Grecians* had no great reason to boast of their conquest. They had lost a sufficient share in the field; the rest were harrassed and broke with the fatigues of a long war, and exposed to all the miseries of storm and shipwreck in their return; which is attributed to the impatience of *Menelaus*, who having recovered *Helen*, was immediately for putting to sea; upon which the fleet was dispersed, some drowned, others driven upon foreign coasts, and even those few who arrived safe, met with such disorders in their family, such factions and innovations in their governments, that they were either murdered at home, or forced to fly for refuge. So that the wives and mistresses

of the *Grecian* captains dated their miseries from this war; and could not mention *Troy* without detestation.

Agamemnon immediately upon his return from *Troy*, in the fifteenth year of his reign, was murdered by *Ægisthus* son of *Thyestes*, and his own wife *Clytemnestra*, who during his absence had lived together in adultery. It is natural to believe what is not generally assented to, that *Ægisthus* afterwards usurped the kingdom, and enjoyed it for seven years, until *Orestes* the son of *Agamemnon* returned from *Phocis*, whither he had been conveyed for fear of him, and slew both *Ægisthus* and his mother *Clytemnestra*, with a daughter by them called *Helena*; by which means he recovered his father's dominions, though not without some opposition of the *Argives*. The story of his being tormented by the *furies* relates to his remorse of conscience for having killed his mother; for which fact some say he was formally tried and acquitted in the court of *Areopagus* at *Athens*, the suffrages for and against him being equal; in which case judgment always passed in favour of the defendant. This and other expiatory acts of his put an end to that continued scene of adultery, incest, and murder, which had hitherto reigned in his family; and he afterwards enjoyed a long reign with a great extent of dominion. It has been before insinuated, that *Argos* had its Kings after *Acrisius*; but they were

were no better than a sort of viceroys, who held immediately of the Kings of *Mycenæ*. But *Orestes*, by the assistance of the *Phocians*, who were his constant friends, made himself more entirely master of *Argos* than his father, or any of his predecessors: And hence that kingdom was thought to be re-united about a hundred and forty years after the threefold division made between *Anaxagoras*, *Melampus*, and *Bias*. Besides this, he had an accession of the kingdom of *Sparta*, upon the death of his uncle *Menelaus*, whose daughter *Hermione* he had married, being received by the *Lacedæmonians*, for want of other lawful issue, as the grand-son of *Tyndareus* by *Clytemnestra*. He had also got possession of the greatest part of *Arcadia* next to *Argos*, upon a vacancy in the throne, and died there, after a reign of seventy years. Some ascribe to him the planting a colony of the *Æolians* in *Asia*. But his son *Pentbilus* was rather author of this expedition; and yet he only attempted it by carrying them into *Thrace*, and from thence to *Lesbos*, upon the descent of the *Heraclidæ*; and by his grand-children it was, that they were actually seated in *Asia*. *Orestes* left two sons, *Tisamenus* by *Hermione*, and *Pentbilus* by *Erigone*, daughter of *Ægisthus*. There is a contest which of them succeeded, or whether both reigned together: But we have most reason to believe the kingdom fell to *Tisamenus*, as being legitimate: He had

To Mycenæ he adds Argos, Sparta, and part of Arcadia.

The Æolians planted in Asia.

Tisamenus.
not

not enjoyed it three years, before the *Heracidae* displaced him.

Aristomachus, great grand-son of *Hercules*, left three sons, *Temenus*, *Cresphontes* and *Aristodemus*; who being now thoroughly encouraged and instructed by the oracle, both as to the time and place of their descent, gave out they would march through the *Isthmus*, as their ancestors had done; by which feint having drawn down the *Peloponnesians* to guard that pass, they crossed the sea under the conduct of one *Oxylus* an *Aetolian*, descended of *Thoas*, who went to the siege of *Troy*, and landed at *Molyerium* with little opposition. This return of the *Heracidae* happened eighty years after the destruction of *Troy*, being the next action to it, that affected *Greece* in general, and more particularly changed the face of affairs in *Peloponnesus*. For they challenged *Argos* as their birth-right, being the next heirs of the *Perseides*; which falling to *Temenus* by lot (for that was the way of dividing their conquests) he took it with some difficulty, and with it a village in the confines, which he fortified as a place of retreat for carrying on the war. Their pretensions to *Lacedæmon* were grounded upon *Hercules's* having restored *Tyndareus* to the kingdom, upon condition that he should reserve the succession for his children. Accordingly *Sparta* was betrayed into their hands by one *Philonomus*, and fell to *Aristodemus*, or rather to his two sons *Eurysthene*s

Descent of
the Hera-
clidæ.

A. M.
2900.

Division
of their
conquests.

thenes and *Procles*, upon their father's death. They had as good a claim to *Messenia*, *Hercules* having destroyed the city *Pylus*, and conquered the country, and afterwards given the kingdom to *Nestor*, upon the same terms that he gave *Sparta* to *Tyndareus*. This fell to *Cresphontes* by a trick in the lot; who ingratiating himself too much with the people, incurred the hatred of the nobility, and was murdered with two of his sons. His youngest son *Æpytus* escaped, and revenged his father by the death of *Polyphontes* the usurper: By which means recovering the crown, he left a succession of seven Kings by the name of the *Æpytidæ*, who continued until near the overthrow of that kingdom by the *Spartans*. Then, according to their promise, they put their captain *Oxylus* in possession of *Elis*; from whom descended *Iphitus*, who instituted the *Olympick games*. They had also reserved *Corinth* for *Aletes*, one of their kinsmen, son of *Hippotes*; who soon after took possession, and was succeeded by his posterity for above three hundred years. Thus were they seated in all parts of the peninsula, except *Arcadia*, (whose King *Sypselus* was secured by marrying his daughter *Me-rope* to *Cresphontes*) and continued their sovereignty in most places until the conquest of the *Macedonians*. The *Achæans*, originally of *Thes-* *The Achæi*
saly, being descended of *Achæus* the brother of *removed.*
Ion, were now inhabitants of *Argos* and *Lacedæmon*;

dæmon; who being expelled these parts, sent to the *Ionians* their neighbours and kinsmen to admit them; and upon their denial, were headed by *Tisamenus*, whom they lost in the conflict, but however drove them into *Attica*, and seated themselves in their room. *Polybius* makes *Tisamenus* to have reigned in *Greece* after this, and to have been succeeded by several of his posterity. However, it is certain the *Heraclidæ* put an end to the flourishing state of the *Pelopidæ*, after they had swayed the affairs of *Argos*, and *Mycenæ*, about a hundred and sixty years.

Temenus. *Temenus*, whom we left in possession of *Argos*, had married his daughter to *Deiphontes* his kinsman, who became a mighty favourite both of King and people; insomuch that the sons of *Temenus* grew jealous, lest the kingdom should be transferred to him, and therefore made away with their father. Notwithstanding this murder, and the strong party for *Deiphontes*, *Pausanias* says he was succeeded by his eldest son *Cisus*, whose reign, with that of his father, made up forty years. The *Argives*, who had always expressed a strong inclination to liberty, took occasion upon his death to deprive his successors of all marks of regal authority, leaving them nothing but the title: So that from hence we may properly date the fall of the kingdom of *Argos*, after it had continued together with that of *Mycenæ*, about eight hundred years, from the beginning of *Inachus*.

*Cisus the
last King
in effect.*

To

To avoid the inconveniencies of a sudden change, there was still a succession of titular Kings: But they were so cramped in their power, that they could act nothing of themselves; and therefore we find little mention made of them. The last who bore that name was *Meltas*, the son of *Lacidaus*; who being somewhat imperious, and exerting himself beyond his predecessors, they first deprived him of all the power he had resumed, and then condemned him to death; by which means they destroyed all the marks of sovereignty, and suffered none afterwards to reign amongst them. For by what *Herodotus* mentions after this of a King of *Argos*, is meant no more than in the commonwealths of *Athens*, *Carthage*, and *Rome*, where this name was applied to some particular officers in the state. So that we must from this time look upon *Argos* as a settled commonwealth; though as to its constitution we have little more left of the ancient accounts of it, than to assure us it was in the nature of a *Democracy*, the people being divided into four *tribes*, in subordination to whom they had a senate chosen annually, to which belonged the executive power, but of no farther use, unless to prepare matters for the whole body, with authority to enact things of lesser consequence. They had also a council of state consisting of eighty persons, besides judges for determining of causes, with other inferior magistrates in the city. In this state the *Argives* flourished

Meltas the last titular King.

Argos a democracy.

flourished for many ages, and became famous for their contests with the *Lacedæmonians* about the territories of *Thyrea*. But that which raised, or at least fomented these differences, was a secret emulation and distaste of each others government. For the *Lacedæmonians*, who valued themselves upon their *oligarchy*, as the best constitution of any in *Greece*, were constantly endeavouring to reduce their neighbours to the same model.

C H A P. III.

The kingdom and common-wealth of *Lacedæmon*, to the end of the *Messenian* wars.

Containing the space of about 800 years.

*Lelex the
first King
of Lacedæmon.*

Myles.

Eurotas.

OF all the traditions concerning the foundation of this kingdom, none has been more generally received, than that *Lelex* first reigned in *Laconia*, near the 2500th year of the world, calling his subjects from himself, *Leleges*, and the country, *Lelegia*. He left two sons, *Myles*, and *Polycaon*; the former of which succeeded him in his kingdom; and is reputed the first among the *Grecians*, who set up a quern, or hand-mill to grind corn. The latter marrying *Messene*, the daughter of *Triopas* King of *Argos*, possessed himself of that country, which from her he named *Messenia*. *Eurotas* and *Cleson* are

are also mentioned as the sons of *Lelex*; but the former is more generally said to have been the son of *Myles*, and to have succeeded him, and to have built the city, which he called *Sparta*, after the name of his daughter. He passes with some only for a river, because he cut a large channel to drain the country, which being swelled with springs, and continuing its course to the sea, came to be a river bearing his name. After him, for want of male-issue, the crown devolved upon *Lacedæmon*, who had married his daughter *Sparte*. As the city had, in compliment to his wife, been called by her name, so the country about it went by his own. But though in strict propriety of speech, this difference was made between *Lacedæmon* and *Sparta*, in process of time the distinction fell, and both appellations were used promiscuously to express the city and country. *Lacedæmon* was succeeded by his son *Amyclas*; who had three sons, *Argalus*, *Cynortas*, and *Hyacinthus*, which last the poets turned into a *Violet*, being killed accidentally by *Apollo*. *Argalus* succeeded his father, and left the kingdom to his brother *Cynortas*; and he to his son *Oebalus*, from whom the country went some time by the name of *Oebalia*. *Oebalus* by his first wife had *Hippocoon* and by *Gorgophone* the daughter of *Perseus*, his second, *Tyndareus*. These two disputed the succession; but *Tyndareus* was forced to quit his pretensions, until *Hercules* made way for him with

Lacedæmon.

Amyclas.

Argalus.

Cynortas.

Oebalus.

Hippo-
coon.
Tyndare-
us.

Menelaus

with the slaughter of *Hippocoon*, and his ten sons; as has been shewn in the history of *Argos*. The wife of *Tyndareus* was the famous *Leda*, on whom *Jupiter* was said to have begot *Castor* and *Pollux*; from thence called *DioscURI*; unless they rather acquired that name from the fame of their exploits, being mentioned as sharers in most of the generous enterprizes of those times; insomuch that they were deified after their death, giving name to the constellation of *Gemini*; and *Rome* as well as *Greece* expressed a particular veneration for them, ascribing some of its most signal victories to their immediate assistance. *Tyndareus* had also two daughters, who made no less noise in the world. *Clytemnestra* married to *Agamemnon*; and *Helena* to his brother *Menelaus*, after she had been first stole by *Theseus*: But for the particulars of her, and her husband's story, I must refer the reader to the account of the *Trojan* war. Her two brothers dying before their father, *Menelaus* succeeded *Tyndareus* in right of his wife. In his return from *Troy*, he escaped as well as most of the *Grecian* captains; but lost great part of his ships in a storm, and was himself driven with his wife, into *Ægypt*, where some say he wandered above seven years before he returned to *Sparta*. As to his *Ægyptian* voyage, *Herodotus* is positive, that he went thither to fetch his wife, whom he makes to have been detained there during the whole war; and insinuates, that if she had been at *Troy*, *Priam* would

would rather have given her up, than exposed his family and kingdom to such a train of miseries, by supporting his son *Paris* in the possession of another man's right, especially since he was not immediate heir to the crown, nor of equal merit with several of his brothers. He had by *Helen* only a daughter named *Hermione*, whom he married to *Orestes* the son of *Agamemnon*; and taking her from him, gave her again to *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles*. But *Pyrrhus* was killed, and it is thought by *Orestes* his means, because immediately upon his death he resumed his wife. And upon the death of *Menelaus*, the *Lacedæmonians* chose rather to accept of him as the grandson of *Tindareus* by *Clytemnestra*, though he was before possessed of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*, than of *Nicostratus* and *Megapenthes*, the two bastard sons of *Menelaus*. *Orestes* enjoyed a long reign, and was succeeded in all his kingdoms by his son *Tisamenus*, who was soon expelled by the *Heraclidæ*; whose descent is more fully described, where we had first occasion to mention it.

Orestes.

Tisamenus.

This change put an end to the first state of *Lacedæmon*, wherein nothing happened very remarkable; neither have we sufficient authority to assign the duration, with the other particulars of each King's reign: Infomuch that some *chronologers* pass by this whole succession, beginning their accounts from the descent of the *Heraclidæ*. But it fares with states as it does with men; the actions of their infancy are

*The first
state of
Lacedæ-
mon under
thirteen
Kings.*

generally too trifling to be recorded; and the memory of the first Kings is so easily eclipsed by the fame of their successors, that we can expect little more than their names, and for the same reasons even they are not always handed down faithfully to posterity. But upon the whole we may allow of this race of thirteen Kings, of which the three last were of the *Pelopidæ*. They completed among them a term of about four hundred years: And though there were no fixt laws to limit the prerogative, it does not appear that there were any considerable encroachments made either on the Kings, or the peoples side.

*The second
state un-
der the
Heracli-
dæ.*

A. M.
2900.

The government which had hitherto been monarchical, must now pass under the name of a *Dyrachy*: Which change seems to have been accidental, or rather out of an accident improved into a design of settling two Kings at the same time upon the throne. For *Aristodemus* one of the brothers of the *Heraclidæ*, dying as they were preparing for the expedition, *Lacedæmon* was however allotted to his family. He left two sons, *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, twins, and so alike, that it was hardly possible, to distinguish them enough to know upon which to fix the crown. From hence it is probable, their mother took the hint of turning it to the advantage of both her sons; so that when the *Spartans* came to her to decide the controversy, she pretended not to know which was the elder; and the oracle at the same time favouring the

the project, they were both declared Kings of *Sparta* with equal power, but with some degree of preference in point of honour to the family of *Eurysthenes*. Their uncle *Theras* was appointed *Prodicus*, or protector during their minority: And his regency being expired, he planted a colony in *Calliste*, an island in the *Ægean* sea, better known afterwards from him by the name of *Thera*. The brothers being of age began to look upon one another as rivals in empire: And it is not so much a wonder, that this should breed a secret distaste and enmity between them, as that it should be propagated down to their latest posterity, and yet never break out for above eight hundred years, so as to dissolve the constitution. The brothers were succeeded by their two sons, *Eurysthenes* by *Agis*, and *Procles* by *Sous*. To their time we may refer the original of slavery in *Sparta*. For *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, having, upon a general survey and division of the country, granted to it the same privileges and immunities which belonged to the city, *Agis* reversed what his predecessors had done in favour of the country, and imposed a tribute. To which all parts having submitted, except the inhabitants of *Helos*, he made them prisoners of war, took away all the privileges they enjoyed as members of the state, and condemned both them and their posterity to perpetual slavery. To make them yet a more standing mark of

Eurysthenes and Procles.

Agis, and Sous.

The original of the Helotæ, or Spartan slaves.

Echestratus and Eurytion.

infamy, all other slaves to the state went by the common name of *Helotæ*; as the word *slave* is used in most countries, and derived from the *Sclavi* or *Sclavonians* upon a like occasion. *Sous* endeavouring to make himself as formidable abroad as *Agis* was at home, reduced great part of *Arcadia*. *Plutarch* has a remarkable passage of him, that being besieged by the *Clitorians*, and mightily pressed for want of water, he agreed to deliver up all his conquests to them, upon condition that he and all his men should drink of a spring near his camp. To evade the force of this contract, he offered the kingdom to any one of his soldiers who would forbear drinking: But they having all rejected the proposal, he came last himself to the water, and having only sprinkled his face, without swallowing a drop, marched off in the face of the enemy, and refused to restore his conquests. *Echestratus* succeeded next in the line of the *Eurysthenidæ*, and *Eurytion* or *Euryphon*, some years after, in that of the *Proclidæ*. It does not appear, that there had yet been any abatement of that absolute power which the former Kings enjoyed, until this *Eurytion* affecting popularity, flattered and cajoled his subjects, and so slackened the reins, that the people made daily incroachments upon him, and took such advantage of the easiness or necessities of his successors, that it brought the government into contempt, and the whole kingdom into confusion.

confusion. After these came *Labotas* and *Prytanis*, in whose reigns happened the first dispute between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Argives*; but it was not carried far enough to produce any memorable action. *Doryssus* and *Eunomus* were the next, who continued the succession of their families, *Agefilaus* succeeded *Doryssus*, *Eunomus* still reigning, until at last he was barbarously butchered in a popular tumult. He left two sons, *Polydeetes* and *Lycurgus* by two wives: The former of which succeeded him, accompanied by *Archelaus* of the *Eurysthenidæ*; and dying without issue, the right of succession rested in his brother *Lycurgus*, who accordingly took the administration upon him. But the queen his sister-in-law proving with child, and having made an overture to him, that she would destroy the birth upon condition he would marry her, he wisely smothered his resentment of so unnatural a proposal, expressed abundance of joy and thanks, but withal begged of her not to practise upon herself to the endangering her health; for that as soon as the child was born, he would take care to remove it out of the way. Accordingly she was delivered of a boy, which was brought to him as he was at supper with the magistrates, to whom he presented him as their King, and to testify his own and the peoples joy, gave him the name of *Charilaus*, or *Charillus*. *Lycurgus* still continued the regency, but it was as guar-

Labotas
and *Prytanis*.

Doryssus
and *Eunomus*.

Agefilaus
and *Polydeetes*.

Archelaus
and *Charilaus*.

dian to the young King; until in about eight months, finding that his justice and generosity were not sufficient to screen him against the malice of the queen, who would never forgive a repulse upon an offer of marriage; that her creatures insinuated, and her brother reproached him to his face, that he was satisfied he should soon see him King, he chose to divert the storm by travel, and thought his nephew might in the mean time have a son to secure the succession.

*Lycurgus
his travels.*

With this resolution he first set sail to *Crete*, where he took a strict survey of that constitution, and made an extract of its best laws, with a design, when occasion should serve, to introduce them to *Sparta*. To this end he contracted an intimacy there with *Tales*, not the philosopher, but a famous poet and law-giver, and prevailed with him to go to *Sparta*, in order to prepare the people for that great change, which he afterwards effected. As to *Crete*, the establishment of its laws is generally ascribed to *Minos*, who rather improved the rough-draught laid down by *Rhadamanthus*, who for his wisdom and justice is by the poets called one of the *Infernal Judges*. There are two recorded by the name of *Rhadamanthus*, and two by that of *Minos*: But it is more generally said, there was only this one *Minos* the law-giver. He was called the son of *Jupiter*; but that was in relation to the fable, that *Jupiter* in the shape

*The
Cretan
common-
wealth.*

shape of a bull, which was the ensign of the ship, carried away *Europa*. The more historical account of him, is, that he was the son of *Asterius* and *Europa*, and that he succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Crete*: And these three, *Asterius*, *Europa*, and *Minos* are asserted to be the *Saturn*, *Rhea*, and *Jupiter* of the *Cretans*. This island lying so in the way of those who came out of the *East*, it seems probable, that civility got the first footing there, and that from thence it made a more early, if not so remarkable a figure as some of the other states of *Greece*. There came with *Europa* into this island some of the *Curetes*, who were the most knowing and skilful among the *Phœnicians*, and were a part of those who came with her brother *Cadmus* into *Greece*, and were dispersed into several parts under different names, as the *Corybantes*, the *Telchines*, and the *Cabiri*, and in *Crete* they were called the *Idæi Dactyli*. They brought in handicraft trades, and invented tools for them. They wrought in copper and iron; and made armour, in which they danced at the sacrifices with a confused noise of bells, pipes and drums, and struck upon one another's armour with their swords in musical times, appearing to be seized with a divine fury; and this is reckoned the original music in *Greece*. It was by their means, that *Minos* built a fleet, and gained the dominions of the seas. And it is probable, that he received the like assistance

from them in the framing his government. As for the particulars of its constitution, they were in so great a measure copied in that of *Sparta*, that there is no need of repeating the same thing under different names. It is sufficient to observe in general, that *Minos* directed the whole tenor of his laws to the freedom and liberty of his subjects. From *Crete* *Lycurgus* passed over into *Asia*; where though he could not but observe a vast difference betwixt the severity of the *Cretan* discipline, and the looseness and effeminacy of the *Ionians*, yet he every where found something to add to his own scheme. It was here he met with *Homer's* works, of which some fragments before lay scattered in a few private hands: But it was through this means, that they were published intire, and generally admired, though they still wanted that order and beauty, with which they afterwards appeared in the world, and which was owing chiefly to the care of *Solon*, and *Pisistratus*. From hence it is thought he went into *Ægypt*: But as for his travels into the more remote parts of the world, and his conferences with the *Gymnosophists* in the *Indies*, they are not sufficiently attested. But whilst he was making these improvements abroad, he was mightily wanted at home; and all parties, with the consent of the Kings themselves, sent several formal embassies to solicit his return. For after the murder of *Eunomus*, with other tragical

gical effects of the peoples late insolence, every thing tended to sedition and anarchy ; and such unavoidable destruction threatened the state, that they placed their sole confidence in *Lycurgus*, who had before given them such large demonstrations of his justice and integrity.

This was the posture of affairs when *Lycurgus* returned ; who finding the people generally disposed to receive any new impressions, would lose no time : And the corruption being universal, he found it necessary to change the whole face of the commonwealth. But considering how requisite a shew of religion is in such cases to gain credit and authority, he went first to consult *Apollo* at *Delphi*, where the *Pythia* called him, *Beloved of the gods, and rather god than man*. To this famous oracle he gave the name of *Rhetra*, pretending to receive in it the form of a commonwealth, with an assurance, that it should be the most flourishing of any in the world. Encouraged by such happy omens, he broke his designs first to his particular friends, and then by degrees gained others to his party, until things being ripe for action, he ordered thirty of the principal men to appear armed in the market-place, to strike a terror into those who opposed him. King *Charilaus* was alarmed, and took sanctuary in the temple of *Minerva*, until being let into their designs, and withal of a flexible temper, he came out, and joined in the confederacy.

*Lycurgus
settles the
state.*

Having

He institutes a senate.

Having made this first necessary step, he began at the head of the state : And though he continued the two Kings with the same right of succession, he made sufficient abatements in their power, by instituting a *senate*, as a counter-poise between the prerogative and the people, their business being to adhere to the weaker side, until they reduced things to an equal ballance. It consisted of twenty-eight persons besides the Kings, the first choice being made out of those who had been assisting to *Lycurgus* in the settlement ; and after them were admitted the most eminent for their private virtue, or their services to the public, but none under sixty years of age. They were continued for life, except upon any notorious misdemeanor : Which as it prevented the inconveniencies of too frequent a change in that body, so it was a lasting reward to the old men, and an encouragement to the young. They were the *supreme court of judicature* ; and though there lay an appeal from them to the people, we find but few instances of it, because they proceeded with such deliberation and caution, that they often staid several days, to see what further evidence could be brought on either side, before they passed sentence. And after all, they were not accountable for their determinations ; which *Aristotle* takes notice of, as a larger immunity, than is consistent with the just form of a commonwealth. When we consider further, that they

they had in effect the whole *executive power* in their hands, it will easily appear what figure their Kings made, who are to be looked upon but as the chief members of the senate, since they had no authority to decree, or undertake any thing of consequence, without a majority on their side. They had indeed some particular respect and deference paid to their persons, having the chief seats in the assembly, giving their opinion and vote first; and *Herodotus* insinuates, that they had double votes. But as to their particular offices, they amounted to little more than the reception of ambassadors, and other strangers, with the care of sacrifices, oracles, adoptions, heiresses, and the highways. They were also liable to be called to account for male-administration, being formally tried, and condemned according to the nature of the crime, only with a reserve, which every private citizen had, of appealing to the people. So that upon the whole, they had a more extensive jurisdiction as senators, than as Kings: For however they were soothed with the title, and shew of majesty, they were in effect much inferior to the *Roman consuls*, and scarce so much as the present *Doges of Venice*. This was their condition at home: But in the field they appeared to a greater advantage, where, as generals of the armies, they had a more absolute command. They had to attend them a general of the horse, with judges in the nature of

*By which
the power
of the
Kings is
limited.*

of *field-deputies*, besides *colonels*, and other inferior officers, whom they advised with as their council, but were free to act as they thought convenient. Not but they received their orders from the state; which though they were for the most part discretionary, yet were they sometimes forced to march against an enemy, or to return home, when they least thought of it.

*The peo-
ples share
in the go-
vernment.*

As to the peoples share in this new settlement, they had their *assemblies*, the *lesser* consisting of the citizens only, and the *great one* of the whole body of the *Lacedæmonians*, who were free of the state. But they were little more than mere matter of form; for the senate assembled and dismissed them when they pleased, and proposed what they thought convenient; which the people had nothing to do but to ratify, or reject, having not the liberty to propose, debate, determine, or so much as to deliver their opinion. To add to which, they were left out of all the offices in the state. So that they were very little gainers by what the Kings lost, until *Lycurgus* made it up to them by his next task, which seems the most difficult and hazardous of any he undertook; though it was indeed the chief hinge, upon which his whole fabrick turned. This was his division of the lands, which had been engrossed chiefly by those who made their advantage of the late troublesome times. To these he represented the convenience, and necessity of having
no

no inequality or distinction among them, but what vice and virtue made; and having the poor, and indigent, which were the gross of the people, on his side, prevailed with them to renounce their properties. Then taking an exact survey of all *Laconia*, he divided it into thirty thousand equal shares, allotting nine thousand to the city in proportion to the inhabitants, and the rest to the country. Each portion was sufficient to maintain a family in that frugal manner he proposed: And though the Kings had a larger share assigned them to support their dignity, yet their tables had rather an air of decency and competency, than of superfluity and luxury.

But the money still lying unequally dispersed, and the law-giver considering, that must of course bring the lands again into few hands, forbade the use of gold and silver, instituting iron-money in the room of it. Which being current only at home, and a great quantity required to make up a little sum, this brought money into such disuse, that few troubled themselves with more than to supply their common necessities: And so by consequence he banished avarice, rapine, and luxury, with their long train of attendants: And the reason why we meet with so few courts of judicature in *Sparta*, is, that by this means he took away all occasion of law-suits. This project was laughed at by the other *Grecians*, as having cut off all trade,

The division of lands.

Gold and silver prohibited.

trade, and merchandise: But *Lycurgus* had his aim in it, since it served not only to suppress all trades and arts at home, which tended to effeminacy and excess, but also prevented the importation of *foreign vanities*; and kept another law in force, which he made expressly against the continuance of strangers in the city, for fear of their corrupting the people, and breaking in upon his constitution. And it was for the same reasons, that he would not permit his own people to travel.

The Phiditia.

His next ordinance was levelled against private luxury, that the men should not eat at home with their families, but in one common hall without distinction of dignity, or fortune; insomuch that one of the Kings was reprov'd and punished for eating at home with his queen. These meetings were at first called *Andria* (the name the *Cretans* used, from whom the custom was derived) afterwards *Phiditia*, and *Syssitia*. Every one sent his provisions in monthly, with a little money for other contingencies: But all such things were forbid, which tended rather to pamper than nourish, one of their chief dishes being the famous *Spartan* broth, which was black, and not very palatable to those who were not used to it. This way of supping in common was at first so strongly oppos'd, that *Lycurgus* was insulted about it, and in the tumult had one of his eyes struck out: But when it came to be established by custom, it was strictly observed, and

and the children were sent to these tables, as to schools of temperance, and conversation.

Lycurgus, by this regulation of the state, intended that of manners, as the only means to support it, not thinking any one could make a good citizen, who was not first a good man. And as their morals depended chiefly on education, he took care to instil such early principles, that they should in a manner be born with a sense of order and discipline. To this end he began from the very time of their conception, making it the mother's interest to use such diet and exercise, that she might produce children of a robust, vigorous, and hardy constitution. For if the infant, upon a public view at its birth, was judged to be so deformed, or weak, that it would prove rather a burden than a benefit to its country, it was barbarously exposed to perish in a cavern near mount *Taygetus*. Those who were free from these defects, were delivered back to their parents, and nursed with hardship and severity in diet, cloaths, and every thing else, beyond what one would imagine boys of that age were capable of bearing.

The Spartan education.

At seven years old their parents had in a manner done with them: For they were then reckoned children of the public, and accordingly assigned over into *Classes*, or *Companies*, in which one more forward and experienced than the rest presided as captain, to govern and chastise

chastise them, as he thought they deserved. For their very sports and exercises were regulated according to the exactest discipline, and made up of labour and fatigue. They went barefoot, with their heads shaved, and fought with one another naked: And there was a yearly custom of whipping them at the altar of *Diana Taurica*, which they would bear patiently until the blood ran, and sometimes, with a strange sort of emulation, until they died upon the spot. *Plutarch* tells a story of a boy, who having stole a fox, and hid it under his coat, chose rather to let it tear out his very bowels, than to discover the theft. For stealing with them was lawful, and encouraged as a piece of military exercise, but punishable, if found out.

The Pædonomus.
The Irens.

At twelve years old they were removed into other *companies* of the same nature: Where, in order to crush the seeds of vice, which began at that time to display themselves, their labour and discipline were encreased with their age. Here they had their *Pædonomus*, who was the general inspector into their behaviour, and under him the *Irens*, young men selected out of their own body, one allotted to each company, to exercise a more constant and immediate command over them. Being now arrived to a more manly and martial sort of exercise, they had their skirmishes between parties, and their mock-fights, or rather real engagements of greater bodies: Of which the most eminent were the

the *Platanista*, (so called from the place being set with plane-trees) where they fought with hands, feet, teeth and nails, and with such courage and obstinacy, that it was common with them to lose their eyes, limbs, and sometimes their lives, before the business was decided. Then as to the politic part, they had their watches, guards, ambuscades, with other wiles and stratagems of war, to give them a notion of what they were afterwards to do in the field.

There was also due care taken for the improvement of their minds: But as their chief business was action and obedience, a moderate degree of learning was thought sufficient; and they received their instructions rather from men than books. To this end the gravest citizens took a pleasure in examining them, to try the pregnancy of their parts: And the *Irens* at supper made them propose to one another variety of questions, to which they were to give ready, clear, and short answers. Which being improved into an habit, it taught them a natural and graceful way of speaking, and furnished them with such a presence of mind, and quickness of thought, that they gave very surprising turns to things, either by way of repartee, or apothegm, as the subject would bear. This was the foundation of that pithy stile, which they afterwards retained, and was distinguished by the name of the *Laconick*, being

The original of the Laconick stile.

recommended by *Lycurgus* upon this principle, *That few laws would serve those, who used but few words.* And though the *Spartans* were no friends to oratory, they were observed to deliver themselves as handsomely, and generally more to the purpose, than those who had gone through a formal course of study, and used a long train of arguments. For this concise manner of expressing themselves, detracted nothing from the strength of their thoughts, but rather gave them a greater energy. It was an instructive brevity; and its beauty was, that there was more implied than expressed. Such was the constant strict discipline they underwent during their minority, which we may conclude lasted until they were thirty years of age, since they could not before that time marry, go into the army, or bear any office in the state: And if they did not marry soon after that term, they were publicly disgraced.

The rules of education for the virgins were much of the same stamp with those for the boys, with very little regard to the natural softness of the sex. They were inured to a constant course of labour and industry until they were twenty years old, before which time they were not allowed to be marriageable. They had also their exercises of running, wrestling, darting, and throwing the bar; most of which they performed naked, and in public: And yet this was thought so far from contributing to vice,

or

or immodesty, that it was designed as a guard to virtue, by appearing with such native innocence and simplicity. Their excelling in these feats of activity seems to have been the foundation of that sense of honour, and greatness of spirit, of which the *Spartan* women were mistresses; and of which there is a notable instance in *Gorgo*, the wife of King *Leonidas*, who was told in discourse with some foreign ladies, *That the women of Lacedæmon were the only of the world, who had an empire over the men;* to which she briskly replied, *There was good reason for it; for they were the only women who brought forth men.* In speaking of the women, it is observable, that among other provisions for marriage, there was no law against adultery; and the reason assigned for it, is, that there was no such thing ever heard of in *Sparta*. But this looks like an equivocation: For whatever name they gave it, the thing was certainly practised, and in a manner authorized. It was by way of borrowing and exchanging with their neighbours for a time by consent: So that if a woman liked another man better than her husband, the pretence was always at hand, to mend the breed, without the inconveniencies of a divorce. The case was much the same on the man's side: And one reason of allowing this mutual liberty, was not so much to gratify lust, as to remove so fruitless and racking a pain, as that of jealousy. These were the me-

*Adultery
allowed of.*

thods *Lycurgus* took for the training up of youth, and making early and deep impressions of virtue. He knew how near custom and education approached to nature; and therefore it was from thence only, that he promised to himself a lasting settlement of the state. Which seems to have been the chief reason, why he would never reduce his laws to writing.

Other miscellaneous laws.

He laid down other general maxims, in the nature of laws: As that they should not often make war upon the same enemies, for fear of learning them their discipline, until in time they came to be the aggressors. Another was, that the city should not be walled, saying, *He would have a wall of men instead of brick*: And indeed their way of discipline kept them so constantly on their guard, and so in a body, that it was hardly possible for them to be surprised; the tilling of the grounds, and all other servile drudgery, being left to the *Helots*. It was not lawful to sell any of these slaves into foreign countries, or to make them free: So that their continual encrease gave umbrage to the state, and occasioned the *Cryptia*, or *secret act*; by which it was ordered, that several companies of young men should now and then be dispatched into the country, who lying concealed all day in the thickets, were to rush out upon them in the night, and kill all they could lay their hands on. This is generally ascribed to *Lycurgus*; though *Plutarch* says, he was of too mild a disposition

The Cryptia.

tion to authorize such a barbarity. And indeed it seems more probable, that this ordinance was of a latter date in the time of the *Ephari*, who proclaimed war against them. But it is certain, that at this time they were used more like beasts than men of the same society, being often made drunk, and carried into their public halls to expose vice. This severe treatment of them occasioned a saying, that, *He who was free in Sparta, was most so; and a slave there, was the greatest slave in the world.*

Such was the form of the commonwealth instituted by *Lycurgus*; wherein his success answered, or rather exceeded his very wishes. For it cannot easily be imagined, how so sudden and universal a change could be wrought by one who had nothing but his single virtue to oppose against two Kings in possession of the throne. Nor is it less surprising, that a *Pagan*, who was indeed too indulgent to adultery, theft, and, in some cases, to murder itself, should in the rest approach so near to *Christian* morality, as sometimes to overtake it. The effects of this change being too material to omit, and too many to enumerate, will best appear by taking a short survey of the whole, with the general advantages that accrued from it. Things being put upon so equal a foot, there was no matter left for private debates and animosities: Every member of the state had nothing to do but to attend the public; and as

*The effects
of this
change.*

*With a
short sur-
vey of the
new settle-
ment.*

they conspired to the general good, they found their own in it. In lieu of their money, which they had parted with, they were possessed of more inexhaustible treasures: And of all their wealth, nothing was esteemed more precious than their time. They had their constant employments suited to all ages, and capacities; and were so far from considering labour as base and servile, that they embraced it as the occupation of a man intirely free. This love of it interdicted all plays even to children; and the foldier was not suffered to walk at his leisure hours. In short, every moment was devoted to virtue; and it was a sort of sacrilege to let the least particle of it slip by unemployed. They were good husbands even of their words; so that a single syllable often served for an answer to the most important dispatches. Some of their neighbours having sent them a threatening message, *That if they got into their country they would put all to fire and sword*, they returned answer, *If*. Their very silence was expressive, and emphatical. They observed the strictest rules of temperance; so that wine was seldom used among them, and a wheaten loaf was reckoned among their dainties. There was no such thing as splendor or magnificence in *Sparta*. To go differently cloathed, according to the seasons of the year, was there looked on as a criminal effeminacy: Even the sex that is most curious in the ornamental part, studied

studied only that of the mind. They sacrificed all sorts of luxury to the liberty of the mind; and conceived as great an aversion to sloth and voluptuousness, as we naturally have to pain and grief. For this and other prevailing reasons, the diversions of the theatre were not privileged, lest they should accustom their eyes to behold the representation of what was condemned by their law, or their ears to be polluted with the apology of guilty passions. The law ruled with an equal authority over the rich and the poor: Their Kings valued themselves upon their subjection to it, and distinguished themselves only by a stricter obedience. Merit appeared in every age and sex. Youth had no need to wait for the lessons of experience, which were supplied by institution and example; whereby women became capable of the most elevated virtues. The love of their country silenced all maternal softness, and made the mother, when she heard her son was slain in the service of the public, regulate her grief, according as the wounds he received, were shameful, or honourable. After the strict discipline they had undergone at home, they met with nothing terrible in the field; and were *The only people in the world, to whom war gave repose.* From hence it was, that they proceeded with a well grounded deliberate valour to an engagement, and proposed no end of it, but death, or victory. They were seldom known

to conquer by stratagem or surprize. The glory they aspired to, was to be gained by dint of fighting, and in the open field; and there they had no regard to the inequality of numbers. *Agis* one of their Kings had a saying to this purpose, *That the Spartans did not enquire how many the enemy were, but where they were.* The reputation of so extraordinary a merit prevailed with the Kings of *Ægypt* and *Phœnicia* to pay a sort of homage to them, and testify their submission in most solemn embassies. Nor were the *Grecians* themselves less struck with esteem and reverence for them, being persuaded, that to attend them, was to follow justice and reason, and to pursue their own honour and interest. For tyranny met in *Lacedæmon* with most terrible and implacable enemies; liberty, faithful and indefatigable protectors. By this means *Sparta* exercised that empire over the other states of *Greece*, which her virtue had given her: And so long as she governed by that title, was revered as the *mother of nations, protectress of the common cause, and supreme judge of all differences.* For all which she neither received, nor exacted any other tribute, than that of esteem, love, trust, and admiration.

*Defects in
the Spar-
tan Consti-
tution,*

Her constitution however was not without its faults. I have mentioned some notorious ones as to the moral part: And the government in general carried such an air of horror with it, that it was rather admired, than imi-
tated.

tated. Their strict discipline was hardened into a moroseness of temper; so that they knew not how to abate of their rigour upon occasion, but extended the same harsh severity to their allies, which they used towards one another. Besides, there was no peace, nor truce observed in a common-wealth devoted to arms, and whose very constitution was war. This by degrees made their government distasteful; and favoured the ambition of the *Athenians* their rivals, and indeed their reverse: Who had lived a great while without any thoughts of command; but at last exerted themselves, (as will appear by the sequel of the story) and drew both their own, and their neighbours necks out of the collar.

But to return to *Lycurgus*, when he had finished his scheme, and found the commonwealth able to support itself, he drew an oath from the whole body of the senate and people to observe his laws until his return; and going to *Delphi*, as some say, to enquire whether he had omitted any thing necessary to the preservation of the state, there starved himself. Others say he died in *Crete*, ordering his body to be burnt, and his ashes to be thrown into the sea. We can only conclude he died in a voluntary exile; and perhaps it was not known where, lest being transported back to *Sparta* either alive or dead, the people should make it a pretence of freeing themselves from their oath,
and

*The death
of Lycur-
gus.*

His character.

and cancel his laws. But they bore no less respect to his memory, than to his person: They built a temple, and paid divine honours to him; and yet *Aristotle* thinks it was less than he deserved. He was certainly a person of exquisite justice and moderation, as well as prudence. No body had a better right to prescribe laws to a kingdom, than he, who could refuse one, when it was in a manner forced upon him; and who ran a greater risque by declining the offer, than he would have done by accepting it. He was not more remarkable in the invention of his laws, than in recommending them by his example; since he ordained nothing to oblige others, which he did not punctually observe himself. And that he was equally as desirous to perpetuate the happiness of the state, as to advance it for the present, appears from his voluntary retirement, and the manner of his death.

The end of the second state of Lacedæmon.

With this settlement by *Lycurgus*, we may conclude the second state of *Lacedæmon*, after it had continued between two and three hundred years in a regular succession of the two families of *Eurysthenes*, and *Procles*. Whatever further alterations it underwent, by which it inclined more towards a *democracy*; yet the regal power was already so limited, that we are to look upon the present establishment rather as a commonwealth, than a kingdom: And therefore we shall not mention the succeeding Kings in

The third state was properly a commonwealth.

in any order, as Kings, but only with relation to some principal actions which they were concerned in, either as chief officers of the state, or Generals of the army. But though we have brought the *Spartan* story down to this period, it seems necessary to prosecute it a little further, so as to take into our account the *Messenian* war; which being the chief action of note between the *Trojan* and *Persian* wars, requires somewhat of a distinct relation; but had too little dependance upon the other affairs of *Greece* to be interwoven with them, and falls more properly under our present consideration of *Sparta*, as a separate state.

The *Lacedæmonians*, soon after the death of their law-giver, grew impatient for action; and renewing the war formerly begun with the *Argives* about their confines, King *Charilaus* entered their country with fire and sword. Some few years after, they fell upon the *Tegeans* of *Arcadia*, who also bordered upon them, grounding their confidence of success upon the oracle, which had told them, *they should measure the Arcadian ground with a rope*. Accordingly they took their ropes with them, with which they fancied they were to bind their enemies as they took them. But they were shamefully deluded in their interpretation: For the *Tegeans*, both men and women, opposed and routed them, took many of them prisoners, and bound them with their own ropes.

Charilaus

Charilaus was also taken, but soon released upon his oath never to fight more against them. Yet he had after this an hand in the destruction of *Ægys*, and other neighbouring cities belonging to the *Achæans*, which were thought to side with the *Tegeans*.

*The death
of Tele-
clus.*

The colleague of *Charilaus* for some time was *Teleclus*, the son of *Archelaus*, whose death happened thus. There was a temple of *Diana* frequented by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Messenians*, as standing upon their borders, and in common to both. The *Messenians* attempted the chastity of some *Spartan* virgins who were there attending the solemnity, and killed *Teleclus*, who interposed in their defence. The *Messenians* gave it a quite different turn, and said it was a plot of *Teleclus* to surprize them; that they discovered these virgins to be young men thus disguised with daggers under their cloaths, and therefore dispatched both them and their incendiary. It is certain *Teleclus* was killed in the tumult; and what makes it look like treachery on the *Lacedæmonians* side, is, that the thing was presently hushed up, without endeavouring to revenge his death: However this was afterwards considered as one remote cause of the *Messenian* war. *Alcamenes* was the successor of *Teleclus*, and *Nicander* of *Charilaus*; which latter kept on foot his father's quarrel with the *Argives*, and made successful inroads into their country. It was also in the four and thirtieth

thirtieth year of his reign, and the thirty-seventh of his colleague, that the first *Olympiad* was celebrated: Of which institution we shall speak more at large in the story of *Athens*, and only apply it here as a date to the principal events.

To *Nicander* succeeded *Theopompus*; to whose reign may be referred another great change in the *Spartan* government, by the creation of the *Ephori*; which some assign to *Lycurgus* as a part of his settlement. But his scheme had too much of the *Aristocracy* in it, to admit of these popular magistrates: And that he was no friend to *Democracy*, appears by the answer he made to one who was highly commending that sort of government, *Go, said he, and set it up first in your own house.* So that it does not appear by whom the *Ephori* were created, or with what design. But *Theopompus* himself seems to have been consenting, or rather instrumental in the institution of this office; and it is said *Elatus* first exercised it by his appointment. However, he proposed them as a curb to the citizens: And being reproached by his queen, that *He would leave the royal authority weaker than he found it*, he told her, *He should leave it more lasting, and by consequence more solid.* Some will have them designed as assistants, and others as a bridle to the Kings: But *Lycurgus* had left them so small a share of the administration, that the *Ephori* could not be

The creation of the Ephori.

A. M.

3255.

Olym. 7.

4.

of

of much use in either of these capacities. It is most probable that the senate had, in the course of an hundred years, extended its power, and bore too hard upon the people; who not being satisfied with the change of obeying thirty masters instead of two, procured the establishment of these officers, who were to represent things on their behalf, so as to cultivate and maintain a good understanding between them, and the regency. The reason of assigning them so many different offices, is, because they were *inspectors*, as the name imports, to inquire into the conduct both of the magistracy, and the people. But they were chiefly to protect the liberties of the people; who therefore chose them out of their own body, without distinction of birth, or fortune, it being a sufficient qualification, that they were bold, and popular, and averse to arbitrary proceedings. However moderate their power at first was, in process of time it was so enlarged, that affairs of the last consequence passed through their hands, all the magistrates in general, and the Kings themselves being accountable to them. By which means they seemed to have erected a sort of tyranny, which threatened greater disorders than those they were designed to remedy. But they had also their curbs: the Kings and they took a mutual oath every month; the first in their own names, to rule according to the laws, and the latter in the name of the people, to preserve
their

their authority to them safe and intire. For which reason the *Ephori* thought themselves obliged, in all pressing conjunctures, to make the people agree to what had been before judged requisite for the common interest. And as there were five of them, (the first of which was called *Eponymus*, upon the same account as the *Archon* at *Athens*) one was an awe upon another; and nothing could be done without the consent of the whole, or at least of a majority. But the greatest security to the state was, that they were chosen annually. With these restrictions, they served as a *cement* to join the several orders of the state, and were therefore called, *The nerves of the common-wealth*. The balance was held for the most part so equal, that the supreme authority did not degenerate into fierceness and tyranny, nor popular liberty start out into licentiousness and rebellion: And it is imputed to this *medium* betwixt an excessive subjection, and an excessive freedom, that *Sparta* was so long preserved from those domestick dissensions, which harrassed her neighbours.

Whatever concessions *Theopompus* had made in favour of the people, they were again restrained by an artifice of him, and his colleague *Polydorus*: Who perceiving they had got ground since the death of *Lycurgus*, and began to make glosses and interpretations of the laws, contrary to the true sense and intent of them, inserted a clause into the *Rhetra*, and made it
pass

pass for authentick, *That if the people should go about to make any alterations in the decrees of the senate, by perverting the sense of them, or otherwise, it should be lawful for the Kings to make void their proceedings, and dissolve the assembly.*

*The
grounds of
the first
Messenian
war.*

It was also in *Theopompus* his reign, that the first *Messenian* war broke out; to which the death of *Teleclus*, and several other things contributed: But it was chiefly grounded on an old hereditary pique between the two nations, ever since the division of their territories made by the *Heraclidæ*. For the *Lacedæmonians* had often complained, that *Cresphontes*, uncle to *Eurysthenes*, got *Messenia* by a stratagem; which being the best country, they thought they had too much merit on their side, to leave them in a quiet possession. There being so much rancour and ambition at the bottom, every trivial accident served to widen the breach, until it came to an open rupture. Such was that which is recorded as the more immediate cause of this war. *Polychares* a *Messenian*, who had won the prize in the *Olympick* games, let out some cows to pasture to *Euæphnus* a *Lacedæmonian*, who was to pay himself for their keeping with a share of the encrease. *Euæphnus* sold the cows, and pretended they were stole from him: And being afterwards found out, killed *Polychares's* son, who was sent to demand the money for them. *Polychares* had often made his complaint

at

at *Sparta*, and demanded justice; until finding he was still put off without any hopes of redress, he grew so incensed, that he killed all the *Lacedæmonians* he could lay his hands on. Then the *Lacedæmonians* in their turn remonstrated at *Messene*, and demanded *Polychares*; who not being given up, it became a national quarrel: Though it still looked fairest on the *Messenians* side, who offered to refer it either to the *Argives* as their common kinsmen, or to the *Amphictyons*, or else to the senate of *Areopagus*. To have it made up, was not what the *Lacedæmonians* proposed; however they kept the business in suspense, by returning no answer; and in the mean time made secret provisions for the war, obliging themselves by oath not to return until they had subdued *Messenia*.

Accordingly in the second year of the ninth *Olympiad*, they set out by night under the conduct of *Alcamenes*; and without any declaration of war surprised *Amphea*, a frontier town of great importance, wherein they put all to the sword; and having left a guard in it as a place of retreat, made further incursions, plundering and ravaging the country to subsist their men. The *Messenians*, finding themselves not in a condition to oppose them, contented themselves with some small reprisals upon the coasts of *Laconia*. But after four years they were sufficiently roused, and prepared for them; and *Euphaes* their King drew his army down to

It broke out.
A. M.
3261.
Olymp. 9.
2.

*The first
battle
fought
with equal
success.*

the borders to offer them battle, which the *Lacedæmonians* accepted, and fought upon equal terms until they were parted by the night: And the next day finding the greatest part of the *Messenian* army strongly intrenched, and themselves not in a condition to force their camp, returned home.

*A second
with the
same suc-
cess.*

But being upbraided by their countrymen with the violation of their oath, they went again the next year to make their utmost efforts under the conduct of both the Kings, *Theopompus*, and *Polydorus* the son of *Alcamenes* now dead. They found their enemy ready to receive them; and a battle ensued, wherein the advantage which the *Spartans* had as well in numbers as discipline, was so well supplied by the desperate valour of the *Messenians*, that things were again upon a pretty equal foot. In the right wing *Euphaes* put *Theopompus* to flight, and in the left *Polydorus* had the better: But the main body maintained the conflict so long, and so doubtfully, that both parties at last gave off, as it were, by consent, and neither claimed the victory. The next day they buried their dead, and did not care to put it to a second trial: So that if the *Lacedæmonians* had any advantage, they were too much disordered themselves to pursue it, especially in an enemy's country.

The *Messenians* now began to labour under the usual inconveniencies of having their coun-
try

try the seat of the war. This occasioned great scarcity of money and provisions, and desertion to the enemy; to add to which, there was a mortality among them. So that being obliged to evacuate most of their straggling towns, they retired into *Ithome*, a town strongly situated upon an high mountain, and fortified it so as to secure them against any sudden attempt. This retreat gave them respite for some years: And in that time they sent to *Delphi*, to know the further event of the war. The oracle demanded a virgin for a sacrifice of the family of *Æpytus*, the son of *Cresphontes*; and the lot fell upon the daughter of *Lyciscus*; who being thought to be supposititious, *Aristodemus* offered his daughter. A young man in love with her, endeavoured to save her, by alledging she was with child by him: But her father was so enraged, that he ripped up her belly with his own hand, and publicly vindicated her innocence. The priest would not allow of this as a just sacrifice, until *Euphaes* opposed him, saying, *It was no matter how, or by whom she was killed; and that the oracle required no more blood.* Some years after, *Lyciscus*, who had fled to *Sparta* with his daughter, where she died, was taken, and tried at *Ithome* as a deserter; but was acquitted by the voluntary confession of the priestesses of *Juno's* temple, who owned the child to be hers, and that she had secretly conveyed it to *Lyciscus's*

The Messenians retire into Ithome.

wife : Wherein she was easily credited, because, by this confession, she could propose nothing less than the immediate forfeiture of her priesthood.

Conflict between the Spartans and Argives.

The *Lacedæmonians* being now inured to action, took this opportunity of a cessation with the *Messenians*, to renew their old contest with the *Argives*, about *Thyrea*, situate in the confines, and claimed by both. But the matter being referred to the *Amphictyons*, they ordered them to dismiss their armies, and decide it with three hundred men of a side. Of the *Argives*, there were but two who survived the conflict; and of the *Lacedæmonians*, only *Othryades*; who yet lived no longer than to erect a trophy of the enemies shields, and make an inscription on it with his own blood: For whose sake the town was adjudged to the *Lacedæmonians*. The *Argives*, thinking they had not justice done them, kept their pretensions on foot, and (as *Herodotus* says) engaged afresh, and were worsted: But he seems to have mistaken this for another battle, which happened some considerable time after.

Messenian war renewed.

A third engagement.

But the quarrel being adjusted for the present, the *Lacedæmonians* turned their arms again upon the *Messenians*: And eight years after the removal to *Ithome* there happened another sharp engagement, which continued until night, with the same doubtful success as before, except that *Euphaes* venturing too far against *Theopompus*,

Theopompus, was almost taken by his party, but rescued, and carried into his tent, where in a few days he died of his wounds. He, leaving no children, was succeeding by *Aristodemus*, as the most popular pretender. He immediately formed a confederacy with the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*; and the *Lacedæmonians* had some assistance from *Corinth*. Yet nothing happened for five years, but incursions into one another's territories; which at last ended in a fourth general engagement of both parties with their allies; wherein the *Messenians*, being inferior in number, had posted themselves with their backs to *Ithome*, to secure a retreat: And a party which lay in ambush, pouring in upon the *Lacedæmonians* in the heat of the action, galled them so in their flank, that after a very warm dispute, many of them were killed, and the rest put to flight.

Euphaes
the Messenian King
mortally
wounded.

A fourth
general en-
gagement.

The *Lacedæmonians* having in this battle lost the flower of their army, despaired of doing any thing by dint of fighting, and therefore had recourse to wiles and stratagems; which though it was contrary to their usual way of making war, they found necessary at this time; and herein they made use of the advice of the oracle, which had told them, that as *Messenia* was at first obtained by an artifice, so it was to be recovered. But the cunning and vigilance of *Aristodemus* defeated all their designs, until at

*Ithome
besieged.*

*Aristodemus kills
himself.*

*The end of
the first
Messenian
war.*

last the siege of *Ithome* gave a sudden turn to their affairs. Whilst the *Messenians* were by this means closely blocked up, and cut off from all manner of provisions, *Aristodemus* was so stung with remorse, for that he had sacrificed his child for his country's good, and yet could not obtain it, that he killed himself at her grave. He had done all that was possible to preserve his sinking country; and it was no objection to his merit, that he had not fortune in his power. With him fell the *Messenian* kingdom: And the loss of him so heightened the despair of his subjects, that they thought of nothing but throwing themselves at their enemies mercy. And though upon second thoughts they proposed to make a sally, and fight it out to the last man, yet their hearts failed them, and they chose rather to submit to hunger, and many other pressing necessities, for five months. After which, being able to subsist no longer, they yielded upon such terms, as the conquerors pleased to impose on them; one chief article being, that they should till their ground, and send half the increase to *Sparta*. *Ithome* was demolished, and the rest of the towns submitted; though some of the inhabitants fled to their neighbours, who had been assisting to them in the war, rather than they would live at home in a condition little better than that of slaves to *Sparta*. Thus ended the first *Messenian* war, in the first year of the fourteenth Olympiad,

piad, after it had continued, with some little interruptions, about twenty years. A. M.
3280.

We must not omit one memorable passage of the *Lacedæmonians* in this war, who having drained their city of men, and obliged themselves not to return until their designs were accomplished, the women in the mean while remonstrated to them, that their posterity would fail, whilst they spent thus upon the quick stock, and took no care for a recruit. To remedy which inconvenience, they detached fifty of the likeliest young fellows in the army, to go to *Sparta*, and lie promiscuously with all the young women they fancied. The offspring of these virgins were from them called *Partheniæ*; who finding themselves contemned and slighted by the *Spartans* upon their return, as a spurious brood, joined some years after in an insurrection with the *Helots*, but were soon suppressed; and being expelled the state, went under the conduct of their captain *Phalantus* into *Italy*, and settled themselves in *Tarentum*. Olym. 14.
1.

The Par-
theniæ.

The *Messenians* groaning under the severe and insolent treatment of their new masters, were forced to stay until they had in some measure repaired their losses before they could hope to throw off the yoke. Which after thirty-nine years they attempted by a general revolt, chiefly at the instigation of *Aristomenes*, a young man of extraordinary courage and capacity.

The second
Messenian
war broke
out.

A. M.

2319.

Olym. 23.

4.

The first
action at
Deræ.

Olym. 24.

1.

who managed the whole business for them, and had before-hand engaged the *Argives* and *Arcadians* on their side. Thus the second *Messenian* war broke out, in the fourth year of the twenty-third *Olympiad*, at which time *Anaxander*, grandson of *Polydorus*, and *Anaxidamus*, great grandson of *Theopompus*, were Kings of *Sparta*. The first Action happened a year after the revolt, at *Deræ*, a *Messenian* village, where the *Messenians* thought it sufficient, that they lost no ground; and this they ascribed to the prodigious valour of *Aristomenes*; who being of the line of *Æpytus*, they would have chose him King; which title he declined for that of General; and as such he commanded with full power. In the mean while the oracle at *Delphi* being consulted by the *Lacedæmonians*, they were advised to apply themselves to *Athens*, for one to preside over their affairs in the nature of a counsellor. The *Athenians* were very jealous of their getting too great a footing in *Peloponnesus*: But to shew some kind of obedience to the oracle, and some sense of the honour done to their city, they sent *Tyrtaeus*, a lame, crack-brained poet and school-master, whose chief business was to harangue, and repeat verses. How great soever this man might be in other respects, he made a very ridiculous figure in the army, and seems rather to have been sent in contempt of the *Spartans*, who nevertheless were glad to receive him;

him ; for looking upon him as the *messenger of the fates*, they desired no other qualification, than his being lent them by the *Athenians*.

The next year, at a place called the *Boar's monument*, happened another long and obstinate fight, wherein both parties had their old allies. *Aristomenes* at last routed the *Lacedæmonians*; but losing his shield in the pursuit, gave them an opportunity of escaping. Upon this success he began to act offensively ; and making incursions into *Laconia*, took a town called *Pharæ*, and plundered it ; then routed *Anaxander*, who opposed his passage ; and intending to make directly to *Sparta*, was deterred from that attempt by a fancied apparition of *Helena* ; and her brothers *Castor* and *Pollux*, who were looked upon as the *guardian deities* of that state.

*The second
at the
Boar's
monu-
ment.
Olymp.
24. 2.*

The *Lacedæmonians* however were so dispirited, that they had thoughts of clapping up a peace. To prevent which, *Tyrtaeus* now exerted all his power of insinuation ; and by his continual lectures of honour and courage, delivered in moving verse to the army, animated them to such a degree, that they resolved upon another attack. With this design they recruited their army with the *Helots*, promising them the widows of those that should be killed ; and ventured upon another action the next year at the *Great ditch*. The *Messenians* had only the *Arcadians* to assist

The third
at the
Great
ditch.
Olymp.
24. 3.

assist them ; whose King *Aristocrates* being corrupted by the enemy, drew off his men as the fight began, and left them an easy prey to the *Lacedæmonians*, who cut off most of the men, with many of the *Messenian* nobility. But *Aristomenes* himself having escaped their fury, picked up the shattered remains of his army, and retired with them into a castle upon mount *Eira* ; to secure which, he fortified *Pylus*, and *Methone* towards the sea, abandoning all the inland towns. The *Messenians* were not so blocked up, but *Aristomenes* forced his passage ; and with a select body of three hundred men, ranged up and down the country, laying all waste before him, took *Amyclæ* by surprize, and gave the enemy such diversions, that they could not carry on the siege. But in one of these skirmishes being engaged with the two *Spartan* Kings, he with fifty of his company were taken prisoners, carried to *Sparta*, and thrown into the common malefactors dungeon. They were all killed with the fall but *Aristomenes* ; who finding a fox at the bottom preying upon a carcase, clapped one hand upon his mouth to secure himself, and with the other caught him fast hold by the tail ; upon which the beast made directly to his hole, and conducted him until the way being too narrow for them both, he let the fox go, and following the tract with his eye, perceived a little glimmering from above, and worked himself out.

Aristomenes taken.
Olymp.
25. 2.

After

After this miraculous and almost incredible escape, he repaired immediately to *Eira*, where in a fall by night he fell upon the *Corinthian* forces, killed the captains, and plundered their tents. He was after this taken by some *Cretans*, who also assisted in the siege: But his keepers being made drunk, he stabbed them with their own daggers, and returned to his company.

His miraculous escape.

The siege in the mean while was very little advanced: But it happened the eleventh year after the taking of *Aristomenes*, in a very dark rainy night, that the centinels thinking all safe deserted their posts; which the enemy having notice of by a *Spartan*, who had an intrigue with a *Messenian* woman, rushed in immediately upon them, and surprised the castle. The besieged took the alarm, and maintained an obstinate fight all the next day: But being at last pressed with numbers, *Aristomenes* chose rather to give up the place, than sacrifice the last remains of his army. The *Arcadians* were so far from abandoning their old friends in this extremity, that they went out to meet them with provisions, and make them an offer of settling among them. But *Aristomenes*, who could not yet resolve with himself to give up all for lost, picked out a body of five hundred, whom he thought least desirous to survive their countries ruin, and asked them, *If they would once more venture their lives with him.* Upon their answer

Eira taken.

answer, *That they would*, he broke his designs to them of going to surprise *Sparta*, whilst its chief strength was employed in the plunder of *Messenia*, telling them, *That success would put things again upon an equal foot; and that the worst that could happen, was an honourable death.* Three hundred *Arcadians* joined with them in the enterprise: But just as they were preparing, they found their hopes again blasted by *Aristocrates*, who being still in fee with *Sparta*, sent immediate notice of this design to King *Anaxander*; for which a letter of thanks was returned both for his timely advice in this affair, and for his past service in the battle of the *ditch*. This letter being intercepted, his whole treachery was laid open; upon which his own subjects stoned him to death, and erected a pillar to perpetuate his infamy. However this disappointment after the taking of *Eira* put an end to the second *Messenian* war, which had continued almost eighteen years from the revolt, and been carried on with doubtful success most part of the time. Whatever service *Tyrtaeus* had done in this war, the *Lacedæmonians* were not ungrateful; and as one part of his reward, they made him free of their city: Upon which occasion, *Pausanias*, the son of *Cleombrotus*, being afterwards asked, *How the Spartans came to do him this honour*, he answered, *Because they would not be thought ever to have made use of a foreign General.* But it may be more to his advantage to con-

*The end of
the second
Messenian
war.*

A. M.
3336.
Olymp.
28. 1.

consider him as a man of letters, than of arms; for it is certain his poetry bears the first place in his character. His works were the polity of the *Lacedæmonians*, moral precepts in elegiack verse, and five books of war verses.

The *Messenians* were very desirous to settle themselves in other parts, under the conduct of *Aristomenes*: But he committed them to the care of his sons; and throwing himself among a body of *Spartans* near *Eira*, was killed; though others say, that being a sworn enemy to *Sparta*, he continued several years in those parts, in hopes of an opportunity to revenge himself, and at last died in *Rhodes*, where he had married a daughter. However, it is certain he lived and died with the reputation of as much personal bravery, and love of his country, as any man at that time in *Greece*. He had thrice in this war performed the *Hecatombonia*, a sacrifice due to those who in the battle had killed an hundred of the enemy with their own hands. The *Spartans* conceived such a dread of him, that even after *Eira* was taken, they were glad to open a passage for him, and he marched out rather as a conqueror, than like one who was making his escape. Whilst the *Messenians* were considering how to dispose of themselves, they were invited by *Anaxilas*, prince of *Rbegium*, whose ancestors were *Messenians*, and had seated themselves in *Italy* upon their defeat in the first *Messenian* war. He told them, he was at war
with

*The death
of Aristomenes.*

*The Messenians
seated in
Sicily.*

A. M.
3340.
Olymp.
29. 1.

with the *Zanclæans*, a people of *Sicily*, and that if they would assist him in subduing them, he would deliver the town into their hands. Accordingly he transported them into *Sicily*, where being possessed of *Zancle*, they incorporated themselves with the inhabitants, because they were also originally *Grecians*; but destroying the old town, built a new one about a mile distant, and gave it the name of *Messene*, which it still retains. *Greece* was at this time so well peopled, that it was common upon any little pique, or ill success in a battle, to throw themselves out in colonies; which by this means were planted not only in *Sicily* and *Italy*, but several other parts of *Europe* and *Asia*. But to avoid tediousness and repetition, we shall mention the chief of them in their proper places, and return to the *Messenians*; many of whom, through age or poverty, were still left at home, and inrolled among the *Spartan Helots*; and it seems chiefly upon their account, that these slaves met with such severe treatment. For they were apt to rebel, and struggle with their chains; but were forced to bear them above two hundred years. And it is strange, that all that time, an enslaved, banished, and dispersed nation should retain their name, customs, and language, with their hatred to *Sparta*, and love of their country, and at last meet with an opportunity of returning to it, and being thoroughly re-instated.

How-

However the present accession of this country to the *Spartans* territory served to raise their credit and power; and they were not long possessed of it, before they led their army into *Arcadia*, and renewed their old dispute with the *Argives*. But nothing happened very remarkable in these private quarrels with their neighbours; and as for their public transactions with other states, they are to be referred to the more intire body of the *Grecian* story.

C H A P. IV.

The kingdom and aristocracy of *Corinth*, to the entire subversion of the regal power.

Containing the space of about 900 years.

C*orinth*, from a little obscure town called *Ephyra*, was raised into a kingdom by *Sisyphus* about the 2500th year of the world. This is he who is condemned by the poets to the endless labour of rolling a great stone up a hill, for having discovered one of *Jupiter's* intrigues. To his son *Glaucus* is generally ascribed the institution of the *Isthmian* games. *Glaucus* was father of *Bellerophon*, who having killed a man at *Corinth*, fled to *Prætus* King of

Corinth
founded by
Sisyphus.
A. M.
2500.

Glaucus.

Bellerophon.

Argos;

Argos; whose wife *Sthenobæa* falling in love with him, and being repulsed, accused him to her husband of an intended rape: Which story is observed to agree with that of *Joseph*, and his *Ægyptian* mistress; as indeed many of the fables of antiquity, however they are wrested and disguised by the poets, seem to have been founded upon better authority, than is generally produced for them. *Prætus*, as he had hitherto protected him, would not violate the laws of hospitality by killing him, but sent him to his wife's father then reigning in *Lycia*, to dispose of him as he thought he deserved. He put him upon many difficult enterprises; wherein his most noted encounter was with the *Chimæra*: But what this monster was, I had rather leave undetermined, than with the generality of expositors, to make such forced conjectures, as to explain one *Chimæra* by another. It may suffice that *Bellerophon* came off conqueror; by which means he obtained the King's daughter, and with her the succession to the kingdom of *Lycia*. In the mean while he was succeeded at *Corinth* by *Thoas*, the son of *Ornytion* his father's brother; and he by his son *Demophon*. The next was *Propodas*; who left the crown jointly to his two sons, *Doridas* and *Hyanthidas*. *Corinth* being involved in the common obscurity of the *Grecian* kingdoms, especially towards the time of their foundation, we cannot assign the exact time

Thoas.

Demo-
phon.
Propodas.
Doridas
and Hyanthidas.

time and duration of each reign: Neither is it certain whether all these reigned, who are mentioned, or whether there are not many more wanting, besides these who are recorded, to complete a term of above four hundred years assigned to this first race of Kings of the posterity of *Sisyphus*. Both this, and the other following periods of succession in this kingdom, are reduced by *Sir Isaac Newton* to a much less number of years, than is commonly allotted to them.

However, it is agreed that in the reign of the two last mentioned, happened the descent of the *Heraclidæ*; who in their division of *Peloponnesus* reserved *Corinth* for their kinsman *Aletes*, the son of *Hippotes*, and great grandson to *Hercules*. Accordingly the two Kings being displaced, or their families extinct, he took possession of the city, which he enlarged and beautified. It had before this the name of *Corinth*, from *Corinthus* who built it, and who being the reputed son of *Jupiter*, had also named the city, *Corinth* of *Jupiter*. But this name was rather given by *Aletes* in gratitude to the Oracle of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, which had favoured him in his pretensions. *Aletes*, after a reign of thirty-eight years was succeeded by the eldest of his family for several generations. The first was *Ixion*, who reigned thirty-eight years; the next *Agelas*, who reigned thirty-seven; *Prumnès*, thirty-five; and

The second race of Kings under the Heraclidæ.

A. M.
2920.

Aletes.

Ixion.

Agelas.

Prumnès.

Bacchis. *Bacchis* as many. Which last being more famous, and popular than his ancestors, his successors, instead of *Heracidae*, went by the name of *Bacchidae*. *Agelas* the first of these, and the second of this name, reigned thirty years :
 Agelas II. *Eudamus* thirty five ; *Aristomedes*, by some called *Aristodemus*, thirty-five. He left a young son called *Telestes*, under the guardianship of his brother *Agemon*; who having deprived his nephew of the kingdom, held it for himself sixteen years; and left it to *Alexander*, who after twenty-five years more, was killed by *Telestes*, the son of *Aristomedes*. *Telestes* by that means obtained his father's kingdom, and enjoyed it twelve years; until he was also slain by his kinsmen, and made way for *Automenes*, who holding it but one year, concluded the second race of kings, which had continued from *Aletes* between three and four hundred years, and by that means gave occasion to a great interruption in the government.

For after *Automenes*, the *Bacchidae*, to the number of above two hundred, assumed the power into their hands. They elected one as president every year out of their own body, and instead of King, gave him the name of *Prytanis*: But his office consisted more of title than power. And thus the state was governed for the space of ninety, or, as some say, about an hundred and twenty years, in the nature of an *Aristocracy*.

The government
changed
into an A-
ristocracy

During

During which time *Corinth* began to exert its power by sea; and planted its two famous colonies of *Syracuse* and *Corcyra*; the first under the conduct of *Archias*, and the latter of *Cherfocrates*, both of the posterity of *Hercules*. *Syracuse*, from its soil, havens, and other conveniences, soon grew to be not only the *Metropolis* of *Sicily*, but as large and beautiful as any city in *Greece*. And *Corcyra* having the same advantages by sea, became so considerable, as to found two other cities in *Illyricum*, *Epidamnus* and *Apollonia*. These colonies were at first subject to *Corinth* their *Metropolis*, and were governed much after the same manner; but as they increased in power, they renounced their obedience, and thereby gave occasion to such commotions, as will furnish out a considerable part of the *Grecian* story.

The *Bacchidæ*, to secure the government to their posterity, confined their marriages to their own family; until *Labda*, one of their women, being lame and deformed, was rejected by them, and married to *Eëtion*; who, (as *Herodotus* tells the story) for want of children, went to consult the oracle at *Delphi*, and was answered, *He should have a son by her, that would fall like a stone upon the Oligarchy, and by that means dissolving it, should reform the state.* This alarmed the *Bacchidæ*, especially as it served to confirm an oracle they had received before to the same purpose, though in more ambiguous

l 2

terms,

terms. And therefore when the woman was delivered, they sent ten of their members to destroy the infant; which smiling in their faces affected them so, that they agreed to deliver it back to the mother. They were no sooner gone, but they repented of their compassion, and returned to the mother; who in the mean while, being better informed of their errand, had hid the child under a *busbel*, or some such sort of corn measure, from which he afterwards had the name of *Cypselus*. Thus were they again defeated; and that which secured the boy afterwards, was their giving out, that they had executed their commission.

Cypselus being of age, thought it time to fulfil the oracle; and was encouraged by another, which told him positively he should reign in *Corinth*, but restrained the succession to him and his children, thereby excluding the third generation. To compass his designs, he first made use of soft insinuating methods to cajole the people out of their liberty, and having by this means lulled them asleep, he practised upon them with the greater security. His first necessary step was to remove the *Bacchidæ* at some distance from him: In order to which he prevailed with them to go in a body to consult the oracle about the public safety. They were no sooner gone, but he took upon him to forbid their return by an express edict; and in the mean while usurped the government; though
it

*Cypselus
usurps the
govern-
ment.*

it is thought he could not have effected so sudden a change with so little opposition, if the luxury and supineness of the *Bacchidae* themselves had not in a great measure contributed to it. In the beginning of his reign, which is placed under the thirty-first *Olympiad*, he cut off all obstructions to his power, sparing neither the estates nor lives of those, whom he thought any ways obnoxious. It was in these troubles, that *Demaratus*, an eminent man amongst the *Bacchidae*, and a rich merchant, fled into *Italy*, and settled in *Hetruria*; where of a woman of that country he had two sons, *Aruns* and *Lucumon*; the latter of which was afterwards King of *Rome*, by the name of *Tarquinus Priscus*. As to *Cypselus*, whatever acts of injustice his ambition prompted him to, they seem to have proceeded rather from necessity than nature, because when he was thoroughly established in the throne, he grew very mild and indulgent, and placed such an intire confidence in the love of his subjects, that he would not in all his reign have any guard about him; which was looked upon as an extraordinary instance, in one who had the name of a tyrant and usurper. By these methods he enjoyed the crown thirty years, and when he died, left it to his son *Periander*.

He was quite the reverse of his father, which some attribute to his temper, and others to his acquaintance with *Thrasylus* the ty-

A. M.

3349.

Olym. 31.
2.

Periander

Olym. 38.

4.

rant of *Miletus*: To whom sending for his advice about the management of the state, he took the messenger out into a corn field, and having struck off all the ears, that were shot up above the rest, sent him back without any answer. *Periander* soon took the hint, by taking off the most eminent of the citizens; which secured him in the kingdom, but with the character of a savage and inflexible tyrant. There are other gross enormities recorded of him, as his committing incest with his mother; his killing his wife big with child at the instigation of his whores, and lying with her when dead. By which acts he knew he had forfeited the good-will of his subjects, and therefore would not trust himself without a constant guard of three hundred men. He had two sons, whereof *Cypselus* the eldest was a mere natural; and the youngest called *Lykophron* he sent into *Corcyra*, for resenting his mother's ill treatment. However being grown old and infirm, he sent for him again, to settle him in the tyranny, and offered to change governments with him; But the *Corcyraeans*, to prevent his coming among them, killed the young prince; which, it is thought, occasioned also the father's death, after he had lived eighty years, and reigned forty. The greatest honour paid to his memory, is the ranking him among the *seven sages of Greece*. But he obtained this title chiefly by insinuating himself into the company

Olymp.
48. 4.

pany of all the wise and virtuous men of his time; so that it seems to have been more the effect of his ambition, than his merit: For he has given so few instances of his wisdom, to support his pretensions, that some have excluded him out of the number, and placed *Myson* in his room. The state suffered such convulsions under his tyranny, that though upon his death, the crown devolved to *Psammetichus* the son of *Gordias*, his brother or kinsman, the people took occasion to lay him aside in a little above three years, and formed themselves into a settled commonwealth; with a greater share of liberty than they enjoyed under the *Bacchidæ*; it being now a mixt government between an *oligarchy* and *democracy*.

It is certain the *Corinthians* expressed a particular aversion to *monarchy*, by engaging in several wars, rather as the common asserters of liberty, than out of any ambitious designs: though they might with the same ease have enlarged their own territories, as defended others. They had such temptations to give law to their neighbours, as no state in *Greece* had beside themselves, from the convenience of their shipping, and their situation in the *Isthmus*, whereby they commanded both the *Ionian* and *Ægean* seas, and were the only pass of communication between *Peloponnesus* and the continent; from whence the *Acrocorinthus*, or castle, was termed the *eye*, and the city, the *fetter*

Psammetichus the last King.

A. M.

3422.

Olymp.

49. 3.

* Car-
thage and
Capua the
other two.

of Greece. And it was upon these accounts, that the Romans allowed *Corinth* to be one of the * three cities, that were capable of bearing the weight of a great empire. But their thoughts turning more upon profit than honour, these advantages were improved into trade and merchandize; which brought them in a vast quantity of riches, but withal sunk them into such a state of sloth and luxury, that they are hardly to be placed above the *republics* of the second rank. And yet now and then, in the subsequent wars of the *Grecians* among one another, they exerted themselves, and were of great weight to their allies.

C H A P. V.

The kingdom of *Thebes*.

Containing the space of 322 years.

THE capital city of *Bæotia* was *Thebes*; by whom founded is not certain, but inhabited by *Calydnus*, whom the earliest accounts make the first King of that country. *Ogyges* is also mentioned as his successor: But he was more properly seated in *Attica*, where he gave name to the deluge, which happened in his time. If we allow he reigned in *Bæotia*, his subjects were the *Eælenæ*, the first known inhabitants. But we are still at a loss to supply an

an interval of above three hundred years, between him and *Cadmus*: And as both these Kings are recorded without any convincing particulars of their reigns, we must rest satisfied with this general remark, that *Calydnean* and *Ogygean* are applied as epithets to any thing of remote antiquity.

There are several arguments brought to prove *Ogyges* and *Cadmus* to have been one and the same man: But this opinion not being sufficiently attested, we are to consider *Cadmus*, without any relation to the other, as the first King of *Bæotia*, and conclude, that he founded, or at least re-built the city, calling it *Thebes*, from the city of that name in *Ægypt*, and the castle, *Cadmea*. He is generally reputed the son of *Agenor* brother of *Belus*, *Danaus's* father: So that from his family, and several other circumstances, it might be inferred he was originally an *Ægyptian*, though he is traced more immediately from *Phœnicia*, where he was settled for some time, and which is said to have taken its name from his brother *Phœnix*. There is another probable conjecture, that he was of the family of the *Cadmonites* mentioned by *Moses*, who were the same with the *Hivites*: And his time falling in with that of *Joshua*, seems to confirm his leading into *Greece* a colony of those *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, who were expelled by the *Israelites*. At least this looks more plausible, than the account the poets give of his travels,

Cadmus
the first
King of
Thebes.
A. M.
2555.

Letters
brought
into
Greece.

travels, in search of his sister *Europa*. I have in the former chapter endeavoured to account for her arrival and settling in *Crete*. And as to her brother, the opinion which seems to come nearest to the truth, is, that he went with a design to erect a kingdom, and plant a colony of *Phœnicians* in *Europe*; making the recovery of his sister only a pretence for his wandering, until he could fix upon a place for his purpose. To him are ascribed sixteen letters of the *Greek* alphabet; which that he brought with him, appears from their order, names, and character, all which bear a near resemblance to the old *Phœnician*, or *Hebrew* letters. So that he was not properly the inventor, as he is called; but only formed them from his own language, as it is probable the *Phœnicians* had before formed theirs from the *Ægyptian*. For to *Ægypt* is chiefly owing the original of most kinds of arts, and religious rites, which were propagated in *Europe*: But as the convenience of ports and shipping, gave the *Phœnicians* the most early opportunities of dispersing them, for this reason they often ran away with the honour of invention. *Cadmus* being thus settled, whether he afterwards subdued the *Illyrians*, and reigned there, or whether he died at *Thebes*, it is certain he left the kingdom to his son *Polydorus*.

Polydo-
rus.

He had by the daughter of *Nycteus* a son called *Labdacus*, whom being under age at his death,

death, he left to the care of his father-in-law. *Nycteus*'s other daughter *Antiope* was stole; upon which he engaged in a quarrel with the *Sicyonians*, and was killed. At his death he assigned over his charge of the young King to his brother *Lycus*, who executed it so faithfully, that *Labdacus* also dying soon after he was of age, committed his infant-son *Laius* to his protection. *Lycus* prosecuting his brother's quarrel with the *Sicyonians*, got his niece *Antiope* into his hands: Upon which her two sons, *Amphion* and *Zethus*, marched against *Thebes*, in order to revenge their mother's ill treatment. *Lycus* was killed in the battle, the city taken, and the young King being privately conveyed away, the brothers possessed the kingdom. This *Amphion* is he, who is said to have built the walls of *Thebes* by his harmony. It is probable he might fortify it, to defend his title: but the proper meaning is, that by the force of oratory, he worked upon a rude illiterate people to confirm him in his usurpation: And this interpretation is in a great measure applicable to most of the famous musicians of the first ages. But the families of *Amphion* and *Zethus*, by pestilence, and other casualties, in a few years became extinct; and the *Thebans* restored the kingdom to *Laius*. He married *Jocasta*, the daughter of *Menaceus*, and had by her a son, by whom, the oracle told him, he should be killed. To prevent which, he ex-

Laius.

*Amphion
and Ze-
thus.*

Oedipus.

posed the child in the woods, having first bored holes in his feet to fetter him, which occasioned such a swelling, that from thence he afterwards had the name of *Oedipus*; but he was preserved by the shepherds, and brought up at *Corinth*. When he was grown up, he had a mind to inform himself concerning his parentage; and it happened, that *Laius* was no less inquisitive to know what was become of his son. Accordingly they set out at the same time to consult the oracle, and met in *Phocis*; where upon disputing the way, or some such trivial quarrel, *Laius* was killed by his son *Oedipus*, neither of them having the least knowledge of the other.

The
monster
Sphinx.

Upon the death of *Laius*, the throne was usurped by *Creon*, *Jocasta*'s brother, until another accident made way for *Oedipus*, which was his explaining the riddle of the monster *Sphinx*. What that creature was, is of more difficulty than importance to determine, being by some thought a notorious robber, by *Pausanias*, a bastard-daughter of *Laius*, and by others preferred for her wisdom, to examine pretenders to the crown, and to punish those with death, who could not make out their claim. The parts, and qualities of several creatures are employed by the poets in her description; and by the *Ægyptians* she is made an *Hieroglyphick* of wisdom, and strength. The *Ænigma* proposed, was to tell, *What it was, that*
went

went in the morning upon four legs, at noon upon two, and at night upon three. Oedipus interpreted it, Of a man, who in his infancy crawls upon his hands and feet; in his maturity goes upright upon his legs; and in his old age uses a staff. Upon which solution, according to agreement, he married *Jocasta*, and obtained the kingdom, being still in a profound ignorance of what he had done. But at last the whole mystery was disclosed, that he had killed his father, and married his mother: Whereupon she immediately hanged herself, and he tore out his eyes with distraction, or rather spent the sad remainder of his life in exile, or a very close retirement.

But the death of *Oedipus* was far from putting an end to the miseries of his family. He left two sons, *Eteocles*, and *Polynices*, and as many daughters, all by *Jocasta*, as *Diodorus* affirms against the opinion of others, who assign the daughters another mother. The two brothers disputed the succession, and agreed to govern by turns. The first year was allotted to *Eteocles* as eldest; which being expired, he would not resign: Whereupon *Polynices* applied himself to *Adrastus* King of *Argos*, whose daughter he had married. *Adrastus* espoused the quarrel; and there being with him *Tydeus*, the father of *Diomedes*, who had also married another of his daughters, and fled to him for refuge, he promised to re-instate them both:

and

*Eteocles
and Poly-
nices.*

and first dispatched *Tydeus* to *Thebes* to remonstrate in behalf of *Polynices*. *Eteocles* intercepted his journey by an ambush of fifty men, whom he defeated, and returned to *Argos*.

The Theban war.

Hereupon war was immediately declared; and seven famous captains undertook an expedition against *Thebes*; *Adrastus*, *Polynices*, and *Tydeus*, who were more immediately concerned, being joined by *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, *Hippomedon*, and *Parthenopæus*. This war is the first of any moment, that happened in *Greece*, being about thirty years before that of *Troy*; and is looked upon but as a prelude to it. Though as it has employed the wits of many ancient poets, and *Antimachus* particularly in *Plato's* time published twenty-four books only of the preparations of this siege, it seems to have made a greater noise in the world, than through such a vast distance of time we are sensible of. The army was chiefly raised by *Adrastus*; but the other confederates brought in their quota's, and the chief command was assigned to *Amphiaraus*, who had married *Adrastus's* sister.

In this infancy of war, we have no warrantable accounts of any thing like a regular siege. But the captains being arrived at *Thebes*, disposed themselves with the companies under their command to attack the seven gates of the city: Which being guarded by as many officers within, the *Thebans* made a sally, and were beat back to the walls, which *Capaneus* mounted

Capaneus killed.

ed by a sort of scaling-ladder, but was beat down with stones by the besieged, and killed; and this undoubtedly gave rise to the story of his being struck dead with thunder-bolts. Upon this ill success of *Capaneus*, the rest retreated, and many of them were slain in the pursuit. After this, the two brothers agreed to decide the quarrel in their own persons; and fought so obstinately, that they were both mortally wounded; whereupon a general engagement was renewed, wherein the *Argives* were intirely defeated, with the loss of all their captains, but *Adrastus*, who saved himself by flight. Not but the *Thebans* had suffered very much in the battle, and paid so dear for their conquest, that a *Cadmean victory* became a proverb.

*Eteocles
and Poly-
nices kill
each other.*

Upon the death of the two brothers, *Creon* again usurped the throne, though it was under a pretence of guardianship to *Leodamas*, the son of *Eteocles*. He would not suffer the bodies of the slain to be buried, until the *Athenians*, who were chiefly noted for their humanity, came at the request of *Adrastus* with an army, and did it by force. It favoured so much of barbarity to suffer any ill treatment to the dead bodies of their enemies, that it became a standing law of arms to inter them. Which natural custom, though it was at first taken up out of decency, was afterwards improved into superstition; for it became an established opinion, that

Leodamas

that the souls of those who were unburied, wandered about, and could not gain admittance into *Elysium*.

The war
renewed.

As to what further concerns the war, the quarrel which seemed to be at an end, was in ten years revived by the *Epigoni*, or sons of the seven captains; who being grown up, resolved to revenge their fathers deaths, and joined in another expedition against *Thebes*. By the advice of the oracle they chose *Alcmaon*, the son of *Amphiaraus*, their general; and under his conduct spoiled and harrassed the country, until the *Thebans* gave them battle: Wherein their King *Leodamus* killed *Ægialeus*, the son of *Adrastus*, but was himself soon after slain, or put to flight. Upon which the citizens offered to capitulate, and took occasion to convey themselves by night out of the town; which when the *Epigoni* found they had quitted, they entered, plundered, and demolished it: Though some say it was preserved by *Thersander* the son of *Polynices*; which looks most probable, because he succeeded and reigned there, carrying a body of *Thebans* to the *Trojan* war, wherein he was killed; and his son *Tisamenus* being young *Peneleus* was substituted in his room, but rather as captain of the *Bæotian* forces, than King of *Thebes*. However, he also fell in that expedition, and by that means put *Tisamenus's* title out of dispute: So that he enjoyed the crown, and left it to his son *Autesion*, who quitted *Thebes*,
and

Thebes
taken.

Thersan-
der.

Peneleus.

Tisame-
nus.

Autesion.

and made way for *Demasitbon*, the son of *Opbel-
tas*, and grandson of *Peneleüs*. To him suc-
ceeded *Ptolomæus*, and last of all *Xanthus*, who
being killed by *Melanthus*, as will appear in
my account of *Athens*, put an end to the *Theban*
monarchy.

Damasci-
thon.
Ptolomæ-
us.

Xanthus
the last
King.

A. M.

2877.

This kingdom as it was the last erected, so
it was of the shortest continuance : And though
we cannot assign the length of each reign, it
is certain, that in the whole it did not stand
much above three hundred years from *Cadmus*
to *Xanthus* : Upon whose death it became a
common-wealth. And though it does not ap-
pear under what form it was at first settled ;
yet we are assured, it was in the nature of a
democracy in its most flourishing age, when
Thebes became one of the leading states, and
in her turn put in for the sovereignty of *Greece*.



C H A P. VI.

The kingdom and common-wealth of *Athens*, to the intire subversion of the regal power, by the expulsion of *Hippias*.

Containing the space of 1046 years.

FROM the first peopling of *Attica* until the time of King *Ogyges*, we have no account of any thing that passed there. *Plato* indeed says, the *Athenian* power and glory was very great in those days; that those early inhabitants were excellently skilled both in civil and military affairs, were governed by just and wholesome laws, and lived in far greater splendor, than they had arrived to in his time. But he mentions this only as a general tradition; and there not being the least footsteps of any thing to prove it, we may look upon it as a story devised by the *Athenians*, to support the credit of their antiquity.

There are also several Kings mentioned as reigning in *Attica*, between the time of *Ogyges* and *Cecrops*, with some particulars recorded of them; as that from *Ætæus*, one of them, some will have *Attica* to have been formerly called *Ætæa*. But they are rejected by very ancient Historians; and the most warrantable way of accounting for that interval, is that *Attica* was so much wasted by the *Oxygian deluge*, and its inhabitants

inhabitants reduced to so small a number, that they lived an hundred and ninety years, from *Ogyges* to *Cecrops*, without any king at all.

To *Cecrops* therefore we must ascribe the foundation of *Athens*; which is placed in the reign of *Triopas* King of *Argos*, about three hundred and seventy-two years before the destruction of *Troy*, and the year of the world 2448. Some make him a native, but he is generally thought an *Ægyptian*, and the *Athenians* were from him reckoned an *Ægyptian* colony, planted by the *Saitæ*, who came with him from one of the mouths of *Nile*. He is the first recorded to have crossed the sea, and settled in *Greece*: But as the *Ægyptians* had at that time little or no knowledge of sea-affairs, it seems most probable, that he came immediately from *Phœnicia*, which was more commodiously seated for the improvement of navigation. But as yet the *Phœnicians* themselves used only a larger sort of boats, which were found out by King *Erythras* among the islands in the *red sea*.

Cecrops
the founder
of *Athens*.
A. M.
2448.

There are several fabulous reasons given for his name of *Diphyes*, as consisting of two forms, serpentine and human: But the most probable is, that he was born in *Ægypt*, and reigned in *Greece*, and was acquainted with the language, and customs of both countries. The people of *Attica*, who lay dispersed according to the most ancient way of living in *Greece*, he collected into twelve towns, (though some ascribe this to the second

His name
of *Diphyes*.

Cecrops) constituted among them one form of government, and took upon himself the title of King. He then laid the model of a city which he designed as a seat of residence to his new-raised kingdom; and as the most commodious place for it, he pitched upon a rock situate in a large plain near the middle of *Attica*, calling both the city and territory round it after his own name, *Cecropia*. When afterwards the adjacent plains were filled with buildings, this was the *Acropolis*, or citadel that commanded them.

Of the religion of Greece.

He first introduced a form of religion, and prescribed to the people both the objects, and modes of worship, erecting altars, and statues in honour of the gods, particularly of *Jupiter* and *Minerva*; from the latter of which, called *Athene*, the city took its name; and who was always thought to preside more immediately over *Athens*, than any other part of *Greece*. As he seems to have paid more peculiar honour to *Minerva*, this may confirm the opinion of his coming out of *Ægypt*, since she was the noted favourite deity of the *Saitæ*, who came with him. And indeed there seems to be such an exact conformity between the *Grecian*, and *Ægyptian* rites, and ceremonies of worship, that *Ægypt* has been looked upon as the chief fountain of all the *Grecian* superstition. Some there are, who fetch a great part of it out of *Thrace*, and ascribe it to *Orpheus* as the author. This too may be true in some measure: But that the whole

whole *System* of the *Grecian* religion should be borrowed either from *Thrace* or *Ægypt*, or any one country, will appear very improbable to those, who consider the great variety of religions in *Greece*, where almost every city had different gods, and different modes of worship. It is more probable, that *Greece* being inhabited by colonies from divers nations, might borrow from every one of these some part of their religious ceremonies; which from a people so excessively superstitious, must needs receive daily improvements, until at last they were not content to worship their ancient deities, but frequently consecrated new ones of their own making; and besides these, assumed into their number the gods of all the nations, with whom they had any commerce; insomuch that even in *Homer's* time they amounted to thirty thousand. To this we may add their *feast of all the strange gods*, which they religiously observed: And it was from the *Athenians* fear of omitting any, that we meet with altars erected by them to the *unknown gods*. In short the *Athenians* were the people, who carried their superstition highest, and were always refining upon religion, until they brought it at last to nothing but shew, and ceremony.

But to return to *Cecrops*, his next care was of the civil government; where for the better administration of justice, and the promotion of mutual intercourse among his subjects, he divided

Athens divided into four tribes.

them into four *tribes*; the names of which were, *Cecropis*, *Autochthon*, *Ælæa*, and *Paralia*. Thus finding them more united into a body, and increased by foreigners, he instituted a poll, causing every man to cast a stone into a place appointed for that purpose, and found the number amount to twenty thousand. But the soil being naturally unfruitful, and the people not yet skilled in husbandry, such multitudes must in a short time have been reduced to the greatest extremities, had not *Cecrops* taught them something of navigation, and thereby supplied them with corn from *Sicily* and *Africk*. He is also reputed the author of several good laws and constitutions, particularly concerning marriage, whereas before promiscuous love was allowed.

The council
of Areo-
pagus.

The foundation of the *Areopagus* is placed under the reign of *Cecrops*, or his immediate successors; though some bring it as low as *Solon*. But this opinion cannot hold, because *Solon* in one of his own laws mentions judgments passed in this court, before he had reformed the common-wealth. The reason of the mistake might be that *Solon* new-modelled it, extending its power and privileges, in opposition to the *Epheta*, another more rigorous court, improved, if not instituted by *Draco*. This senate took its name from the place in which it was wont to be assembled, being an hill near the citadel, sacred to *Mars*. It was one of their most famous courts of judicature; and was constituted of men of
the

the highest stations in the common-wealth, as remarkable for their virtue and integrity, as their riches and quality. For this reason it was stiled, *The most sacred and venerable tribunal*; and their justice was so eminently known throughout all *Greece*, that foreign states, when any difference happened among them would often appeal to the *Areopagites*, and stand to their determination. And *Demosthenes* tells us, that to his time, neither *plaintiff* nor *defendant* had any just reason to be dissatisfied with their proceedings. This court is recorded as the first, that sat upon life and death; and the trial of wilful murder seems to have been the original design of its institution: Though in latter ages, all incendiaries, assassines, conspirators, and deserters of their country, and most capital causes in general, came under its cognizance. The opinion the state had of the gravity and sanctity of its members, gained them an unlimited power, insomuch that, according to *Solon's* regulation of this assembly, the inspection and custody of the laws, the management of the public funds, and education of the youth was committed to them. Their power extended to persons of all ages and sexes, to punish the idle and profligate, and reward the sober and industrious, as they thought fit. Besides this, matters of religion, blasphemy against the gods, contempt of the holy mysteries, and all sorts of impiety, as also the consecration of new gods, erection of

temples and altars, and introduction of new ceremonies into divine worship, were referred to the judgment of this court. This was the chief business of the senate: For they seldom intermeddled with the management of other public affairs, but in cases of great and imminent danger; and then the common-wealth had recourse to them, as the last and surest refuge. Thus was their authority preserved to them intire until the time of *Pericles*, who not having borne the office of *Archon*, could not be admitted among them; and therefore employed all his interest and cunning to undermine them: Which he did so effectually, that his contempt of them served to lessen their dignity; and from that time the same excesses and vices, which were practised in the city, crept in among the *Areopagites* themselves, until by degrees they quite lost their former power and esteem,

The Deucalionian deluge.

Under *Cecrops* happened the great *deluge* in part of *Greece*, which is known by the name of *Deucalion's flood*, who reigned at that time in *Thessaly*, and whose country was chiefly affected with it. But it is placed by some chronologers under the reign of *Cranæus* his successor. It is thought that *Deucalion* saved many in boats upon mount *Parnassus*; and that this gave occasion to the fable of his re-peopling the earth. But this flood agrees in so many particulars with that of *Noah*, that even the *Grecian* account of it requires only the change of names, to render it
in

in the *language* of the *scriptures*. And so, notwithstanding the pains some have taken to place the flood of *Ogyges* above two hundred years higher than this, yet all the sober inquirers into antiquity have not considered them as distinct and partial deluges, but only as the remainder of the *universal one* under *Noah*; the memory of which was preserved under *Ogyges* in *Attica*, and *Deucalion* in *Thessaly*, as men of the most remote antiquity in each country. The parallel holds yet farther between *Noah* and *Deucalion*: For as the first re-peopled the world by his posterity, so the family of the latter was of proportionable fame and extent in *Greece*. He had two sons, *Hellen* and *Amphietyon*; the first (whom we have already had occasion to mention) left three, *Xuthus*, *Æolus*, and *Dorus*. *Æolus* succeeded his father, and is to be considered as founder of the *Æolians*; *Dorus* seated himself in *Histiæotis*, about the mountains *Ossa* and *Olympus*; his posterity afterwards got footing in *Peleponnesus*, and passed under the name of the *Dorians*; and *Xuthus* will be considered with relation to the extent of his family in *Athens*.

The family of Deucalion.

Cecrops died after a reign of fifty years; and his son *Eresichthon* dying before him, he was succeeded by *Cranaus*, a man of the greatest sway, and figure at that time in *Athens*. The country which from *Cecrops*, was called *Cecropia*, was from him called *Cranaë*, and afterwards from his daughter *Athis*, *Attica*: And the names of the

Cranaus.

Amphic-
tyon.

The coun-
cil of the
Amphi-
tyons.

the four tribes he changed into *Cranais*, *Atthis*, *Mesogæa*, and *Diacris*. After he had reigned nine years, he was expelled the kingdom by *Amphictyon* the other son of *Deucalion*, who had married one of his daughters. But it has been questioned, whether he did not rather reign in *Thessaly*, than in *Attica*: And one argument for it, is his instituting the *Amphictyons*, the famous *national council*, or *diet* of *Greece*; which was first assembled in *Thessaly*, near the streights of *Thermopylae*, and from the place, was called *Pylea*, and the members, *Pylagoræ*. But *Acrisius* King of *Argos*, afterwards either removed this, or constituted a new one at *Delphi* in *Phocis*; which lying in the middle of *Greece*, the delegates of the twelve cities, which composed this assembly, were more easily convened upon any emergent occasion. Their usual times of meeting were every spring and autumn, or oftner, if necessity required; and their business was to decide the quarrels and differences, that happened between any of their cities, or common-wealths. Their authority was very great, and their determinations held so inviolable, that those, who rejected them, were proceeded against, as the common enemies of *Greece*. This was looked upon as a very necessary institution among a people made up of so many different states, and jarring interests, and the best, if not the only expedient, to cultivate a good understanding among themselves, and to proceed with vigour and resolution against their enemies. In

In this King's reign, *Dionysus*, or *Bacchus*, is said to have come into *Attica*. Some have taken him for the *Ægyptian Osiris*; and others for a prince of *Arabia Felix*, about the mountain *Nysa*. All that can be affirmed with any colour of certainty from the *Grecian* accounts of him, is, that he came with his retinue out of the east, and was worshipped in *Greece*, as the inventor of many useful arts, particularly of preserving bees, and dressing the vine. His story is made up of patches of the *eastern tradition*; which was probably conveyed to *Greece* by the *Phœnicians*, who accompanied *Cadmus* thither; and for that reason he passed for the grandson of *Cadmus* by his daughter *Semele*. From the analogy he bears with *Noah*, *Moses*, and *Nimrod*, some have concluded that one, or all of them were shadowed out to the *Grecians* under the name and person of *Bacchus*. And that most of the passages which are ascribed to him, are a plain corruption of the *eastern story* in general, if not of the *scripture* itself, appears from one remarkable instance of his birth, where he is said to have been taken out of *Jupiter's thigh*; which is only an *Hebrew* phrase for the ordinary way of procreation.

*Account of
Bacchus.*

Amphielyon after ten years reign was also expelled by *Eriethonius*; who besides the fabulous account of his birth, is said to have had *snakes* feet; which gave occasion of ascribing to him the invention of chariots to hide them. But this is more properly owing to the *Panathenæa*, which

*Erietho-
nius.*

*The Pana-
thenæa.*

was also instituted by *Eriethonius*, where the running with chariots was one of the performances. This was a festival in honour of *Minerva*, and was at first called *Athenæa*; and when afterwards revived, and amplified by *Theseus*, who had collected the people of *Attica* into one city, it was called *Panathenæa*, or the sacrifice of all the united Athenians. There were two solemnities of this name; the great one celebrated once in five years, and the lesser every year, and were much the same with the *Roman quinquatria*.

Of the fe-
stivals of
Greece.

Here it may not be amiss to observe of the *Grecian* festivals in general, that they were a great part of their religion, being instituted chiefly in honour of their gods, and heroes, who had rescued their country from slavery and oppression, or died in its defence. And without doubt this great encouragement of transmitting mens names to posterity, gave birth to the many generous enterprises of antiquity though they were in time unhappily improved into religion and fable, until they passed at last for downright knight-errantry. As their religion was at first more pure and simple, and less pompous, so their festivals were few: But in latter ages, and particularly in *Athens*, where their gods were increased almost to the number of men, the number and magnificence of their festivals rose in proportion. For as they formerly consisted of little more than a sacrifice, they had afterwards games, processions, and a
thousand

thousand superstitious observances in imitation of the fabulous actions of their Gods, which were introduced and practised to the vast charge of the public. But to return to *Eriethonius*, he is said to have brought silver first into *Attica*; or at least to have stamped it in the nature of coin: And after a reign of fifty years, he left the kingdom to his son *Pandion*.

Pandion
I.

The crown had hitherto been possessed by craft or violence. This *Pandion* was the first, who held it in right of succession: And though there afterwards happened some disturbances and usurpations in the government, yet from him it became properly an hereditary kingdom. In his reign *Triptolemus* is said to have taught the *Athenians* to sow and manure the ground; which he learnt from *Ceres*, the same with the *Ægyptian Isis*, who is thought at this time to have come into *Attica*; and in honour of whom were instituted the *Eleusinia*, so called from *Eleusis* a borough-town of *Attica*. This festival was celebrated with the greatest secrecy, and solemnity of any in *Greece*. It was called the *mysteries*, by way of eminence, without any other note of distinction; and it was death to divulge the least part of the ceremonies. But the goddess, and her worship is by some placed under *Eretheus* the successor of *Pandion*: And the institution being wholly *Ægyptian*, seems to make for those, who fancy him also an *Ægyptian*. But he is generally thought a native of *Attica*,
and

and that he succeeded his father *Pandion* after a reign of forty years. Sir *Isaac Newton* is of opinion, that *Eriethonius* before-mentioned; and this his son *Pandion* are the same with *Erethbeus* and his son *Pandion*, who succeeded him: According to this opinion, *Cecrops* the second, who generally passes for the son and successor of *Erethbeus*, and father of the second *Pandion*, must likewise be excluded. However, I have inserted all these Kings in the catalogue, and in the order of succession, as they are commonly placed, leaving the reader to determine for himself in this, as in other cases of the like nature, which will not admit of any certain proof.

Erethbeus had war with the *Chalcidians* of *Eubæa*; and by the assistance of *Xuthus*, the son of *Hellen*, who had fled out of *Thessaly* with a great part of his father's treasure, defeated them. To reward which service, *Erethbeus* gave him his daughter *Creusa*, by whom he had *Ion*, who was equally useful to him in a second war he had with the *Eleusinians*, who were assisted by *Eumolpus* King of *Thrace*. *Ion* gained so much power and credit in the common-wealth, that some fancy he succeeded his grandfather in the kingdom: At least he had all the marks of sovereignty, but the title, changing the name of the country, and the four tribes, as several of the former Kings had done. He had a numerous progeny, which, when *Attica* was over-stocked with inhabitants, were sent out as a colony into *Peloponnesus*; from whence

whence they were expelled by the *Achæans*, descended from *Achæus* the brother of *Ion*, and returned to *Athens*; and were afterwards led out into the *Lesser Asia* by the sons of *Codrus*, where they formed several distinct colonies, but passed under the common name of the *Ionians*. This is the *Grecian* account of *Ion*; but it is built upon such uncertainties, that it still leaves room for the opinion above-mentioned, that he might be the same with *Javan*, the fourth son of *Japheth*, who is said to have come into *Greece* after the confusion of *Babel*, and seated himself in *Attica*.

But to return to *Ereätheus*, some say he fell in the battle with the *Eleusinians*. It is certain he died in the fiftieth year of his reign; and being a prince of great justice and valour, was ranked among the heroes of those early times, and had divine honours paid him after his death. The people of *Athens*, who had hitherto passed under the name of *Cecropidae*, were from him called *Ereäbidae*. His daughter *Orithya* was taken away by *Boreas* a *Thracian*; which rape the poets ascribe to the north-wind, because *Thrace* is situate north from *Athens*.

Upon the death of *Ereätheus*, there arose a contest among his three sons, *Cecrops*, *Metion*, and *Pandorus*, about the succession. They referred the matter to *Xuthus*, who adjudged it to *Cecrops*, as eldest: But the rest were not satisfied with this determination; upon which *Xuthus* quitted *Athens*, and went into *Ægialia*,

Cecrops
II.

where he died. This *Cecrops* led a colony into *Eubæa*; he is also said to have built *Rhodes*; and after a reign of forty years left the kingdom to his son *Pandion*.

Pandion
II.

Pandion the second was expelled the kingdom by the sons of *Metion* his uncle, and fled for refuge to *Pylas*, King of *Megara*, whose daughter he had married. There he succeeded his father-in-law, and left four sons, *Ægeus*, *Lycus*, *Pallas*, and *Nisus*; who, after their father's death, recovered his dominions by driving the *Metionidæ* out of *Athens*. Some say they restored him before he died, and that at his death he divided his kingdom among them in four equal proportions. But this not being generally agreed on, nor which part fell to each man's lot, we may look upon it as a division of their own; and that *Ægeus*, in effect, succeeded his father *Pandion*, after a reign of twenty-five years. His brothers had their shares allotted them for assisting him in his war with the *Metionidæ*; but he had undoubtedly the supreme power with the sovereignty of *Athens* assigned to him as the eldest. Yet it was not without secret murmurings among the rest; and the rather, because *Ægeus* was generally thought to be only an adopted son of *Pandion*. But those who gave him the greatest umbrage, were the *Pallantidæ*, the fifty sons of his brother *Pallas*: And his want of children, the cause for which they despised him, was that which withheld

Ægeus.

held them from breaking out into open rebellion, in hopes the crown would of course devolve upon them after his death. *Ægeus*, who had married two wives, and had issue by neither, went to *Delphi* to consult the oracle about posterity. The answer being somewhat obscure, in his return he went to *Pittheus* the son of *Pelops* at *Træzene*, a man of the greatest knowledge and wisdom in his time, to have it explained. *Pittheus* entertained him; and however he interpreted the oracle, it was with his consent, that *Ægeus* lay with his daughter *Æthra*, and left her with child of *Theseus*.

Theseus proved a youth of great expectation; and when he was about sixteen years old, his mother acquainted him with his original, and sent him to *Athens*. The country was so infested with thieves and murderers, that it was a very dangerous journey; yet he chose rather to go by land, than sea. He was secretly fired with the fame of *Hercules*, to whom he was also allied by his mother: And as he had cleared the ways of a great part of these robbers, so *Theseus* would endeavour to suppress the rest. Accordingly he destroyed several in his way; and observed a method in imitation of *Hercules*, whom he proposed as his constant pattern, to punish them after the same manner they had treated others. At last he arrived at *Athens*; where he was entertained as a stranger, but had like to have been poisoned by his father.

Theseus.

The acts of his youth.

ther, through the persuasion of *Medea*, who was fled to him from *Corinth*. But upon his shewing *Ægeus* the sword, which he had left with his mother as a pledge, he threw down the poison, embraced him, and owned him publicly for his son and successor. This served to inflame the seditious murmurs of the *Pallantidæ*, who highly resented it, that first *Ægeus* the adopted son of *Pandion*, and not related to the family of *Erechtheus*, and then *Theseus*, a perfect stranger, and a bastard too, should obtain the crown of their ancestors. Upon which finding their hopes utterly defeated, they broke out into open acts of hostility; but were soon vanquished, and dispersed by the courage and conduct of *Theseus*. Who to keep himself in action, and gain the favour of the people, encountered several monstrous creatures, which infested the country; and particularly the *Marathonian bull*, which he overcame, and bringing it alive in triumph through the City, sacrificed it to *Apollo*. His next exploit was the killing of the *Minotaur*, a monster kept by *Minos* King of *Crete*. The story is told, that *Androgeos* the son of *Minos*, coming to the feast of *Athenæa* at *Athens*, excelled all his antagonists in the exercises performed there, and contracted an intimacy with the *Pallantidæ*. *Ægeus* fearing lest he should join with them to deprive him of his kingdom, made away with him: Which so incensed *Minos*, that he declared

clared war against the *Athenians*. And being at that time master of the *Grecian* seas, gave them so much disturbance, that they were glad at last to comply with the advice of the oracle, and send him, by way of composition, an annual tribute, for the space of seven or nine years, of seven young men, and as many virgins, to be devoured (as the fable runs) by this *Minotaur*: but rather to be killed, or kept in slavery by *Taurus*, appointed by *Minos* for that office. At the third time of sending this tribute, *Theseus* offered himself to go among the rest, in hopes to free his country from this slavery, by destroying the monster. Accordingly he arrived at *Crete*, where he received of *Ariadne*, the daughter of *Minos*, who fell in love with him, a clue of thread to conduct him through the windings of the *Labyrinth*, where the *Minotaur* was kept: And having slain him, returned with his fellow-captives in triumph to *Athens*, and got the tribute remitted. But in his return, through an excess of joy, he forgot to hang out the white sail, which should have been the token of their safety to *Ægeus*, who sat expecting them upon the top of a rock: And as soon as the ship came in view, with the black one, which they used to carry in token of their unavoidable destruction, he knowing nothing of their success, threw himself headlong into the sea, which probably took its name from him, and made way to

A. M. *Theseus's* succession to the crown after forty-eight
2770. years reign.

*His alter-
ation in
the state.*

From *Cecrops* the first to this time, the *Athenian* government suffered little alteration. But *Theseus*, as he had freed his country from foreign slavery, and intestine sedition, so now he resolved to regulate, and new model the state. Yet being a wise, as well as powerful prince, he knew that to attempt any considerable change, he must proceed warily, and use all the gentle insinuating methods, especially to a people, who had so strong a sense of their liberty.

In the first place therefore, to remedy the inconvenience of having them dispersed in villages, and cantoned up and down the country, always quarrelling among themselves, and never assembled to consult for the publick good, he collected all the inhabitants of *Attica* into one city, which together with *Cecropia* the regal seat, he named *Athens*. His method to effect this, was to go from one tribe to another, to appease their differences, and propose his design of a common agreement between them. The poorer sort, who could be no losers by it, readily closed with his advice: To those of power and interest he promised a commonwealth; wherein reserving to himself only the command of their armies, and custody of the laws, there should be an equal distribution of all things else among them, and the power be lodged wholly in the people. The rest fearing his

his power, which was already grown very formidable, and knowing his courage and resolution, chose rather to be persuaded, than forced into a compliance.

His next business, when he had brought them over thus far to his proposal, was to dissolve all the distinct courts of justice, and corporations belonging to the twelve towns, and build one common *Pyrtaneum*, or council-hall in the city. And with a design to enlarge his city, he invited all strangers to come and settle there, and enjoy equal privileges with the natives. Yet to prevent confusion and anarchy, upon such promiscuous multitudes flowing in, he first divided the people into three distinct ranks of nobles, husbandmen, and artificers. The nobility he appointed as the fountain of magistracy; but the choice belonged in a great measure, if not wholly to the people. To this first rank he committed the teaching and interpretation of the laws, and the care of religion; the whole city as to all other matters being reduced to a sort of an equality, the nobles excelling in honour, the husbandmen in profit, and the artificers in number.

Theseus having proceeded thus far with success, in a manner divested himself, according to his promise, of the regal power: Which a man of so much spirit and bravery, and who had deserved so well of the state, might as

easily have extended, as diminished. Wherefore, though the *Genius* of the *Athenians* always ran high for liberty; yet he seems rather to have complied with his own inclination for popular government, as best suited to the scheme he had laid down. However, it was looked upon as a generous act of resignation: And this, with his enlarging the city, and his many other signal services, gained him the title of *the second founder of Athens*. Not that it was yet a settled common-wealth; but this was so fair an advance towards it, that the people from that time continually got ground, against the vain attempts of some of the succeeding kings, to recover the power, with the title of *Monarchy*.

Having laid this foundation, he left it for others to build upon; and spent the rest of his life in search of new adventures with *Hercules*, and the other heroes of his time. As *Hercules* had instituted the *Olympick* games in honour of *Jupiter*, so did he the *Isthmian* in honour of *Neptune*, whose son he passed for among those, who could not otherwise account for his birth, and the rather, because he was a great encourager of trade and navigation. To his roving temper, and impatience of ease, we must refer his *romantick* voyage into the *Euxine* sea against the *Amazons*, from amongst whom he got his wife *Antiope*, or, as some called her, *Hippolyte*. This gave rise to the *Amazonian* war;

war; wherein those warlike women besieged *Athens*, encamped, and gave the citizens battle within their very walls; until at last a peace was concluded by *Antiope's* means. But this war is so differently related, that some have fancied there were two expeditions of that kind, and that *Antiope*, and *Hippolyte* were two distinct women. Neither must we omit his celebrated friendship which *Pirithous* the son of *Ixion*, begun upon an hostile interview, which struck them both with a secret admiration of each other's person and bravery. *Theseus*, when he was fifty years old, joined with him in stealing *Helena* the daughter of *Tyndareus*, from *Sparta*, who falling to him by lot, he carried her to his mother at *Aphidne*, to be kept there until she were marriageable. Then having agreed to procure another wife for his friend, they travelled into *Epirus*, to steal the daughter of *Aida-neus*, king of the *Molossi*, whom the fable calls *Pluto*: But he being informed of their design, killed *Pirithous*, and imprisoned *Theseus*, until, at the request of *Hercules*, he was set at liberty. But whilst he was engaged in those foreign adventures, *Menestheus* the son of *Peteas*, and great grandson of *Eretheus*, took occasion, from his absence, to ingratiate himself with the leading men of *Athens*, and insinuated, that his late change in the state was only a project to enslave them under a pretence of liberty. And to favour his design, it happened that *Castor* and

Pollux, the sons of *Tyndareus*, came at this time against *Athens*, in search of their sister *Helena*: who not finding her there, went to *Aphidnae*, took the town, and recovered their sister. Then by *Menestheus*'s means the brothers were honourably received into *Athens*: And when *Theseus* returned, he found the people's minds generally alienated, even to a contempt of his person and authority. Upon which he sent his children privately into *Eubæa*, and having solemnly cursed the people of *Athens*, banished himself into the island *Scyrus*; where the common report is, that *Lycomedes* the King, either jealous of his fame, or to gratify *Menestheus*, led him up to the top of a rock, as though to shew him the country, and threw him down headlong. Thus died *Theseus*, when he had reigned thirty years. He was by far the greatest King of *Athens*: And though he was so ungratefully abandoned by his subjects, yet succeeding ages paid a just reverence to his relicks; and his tomb was placed as a refuge for slaves, in memory, that whilst he lived, his whole care and study was to redress grievances, and relieve the distressed.

Theseus's
death.

Menestheus.

Menestheus by this means got possession of the crown. He went with his quota of fifty ships to the *Trojan* war, where he grew famous for his skill in military affairs, being mentioned as the first, who marshalled an army in the order of rank and file. In his re-
turn

turn from *Troy* he died in the isle of *Melos*, in the twenty-third year of his reign : And was succeeded by *Demophon* the son of *Theseus*, who with his brother *Acamas* went to the siege of *Troy*. In his return he was driven upon the coasts of *Thrace*, where *Phyllis* the queen fell in love with him ; to whom he promised marriage, after he had been to settle his affairs at *Athens* : But not coming at the time appointed she hanged herself. The court of judicature, called *In Palladio*, was instituted in his reign, and upon his account. The story runs, that some of the *Argives* under the conduct of *Dio-medes*, being driven by night upon the coasts of *Attica*, and supposing it an enemy's country, went out to spoil and plunder it. The *Athenians* took the alarm, and being united under the conduct of *Demophon*, repulsed the invaders with great loss. But upon the approach of day, *Acamas* finding among the dead bodies, the *Palladium*, or statue of *Minerva*, which was brought from *Troy*, discovered the mistake in having killed their friends and allies. Whereupon they referred the quarrel to fifty *Athenians*, and as many *Argives*, whom they called *Ephetae*. And this seems to be the original of the *Ephetae*, a court re-instituted by *Draco*, in opposition to the *Areopagus* ; though their business at first was only to inquire into involuntary murders. *Demophon* after thirty-three years reign, left the kingdom to his son

Demophon.

The original of the Ephetae.

Oxyntes. ^{son of Oxyntes.} And he, after twelve more, to
 Aphidas. his son *Aphidas*; who reigned but one year,
 Thymæ- being murdered by his bastard brother *Thymæ-*
 tes. tes; who thereupon usurped the kingdom, and
 was the last of the *Erechidae*, who reigned in
Athens. There was at this time a dispute be-
 tween the *Athenians* and *Bæotians*, about their
 confines, and it was proposed by the latter,
 that their two Kings should decide it. But
Thymætes declining the challenge, *Melanthus* a
Messenian accepted it. Just as they were going
 to engage, *Melanthus*, cried out, *this is not*
according to our agreement, *Xanthus*, to come
 provided with a second, against me a single man.
 At which *Xanthus* the *Bæotian* King looking
 back to see who followed him, *Melanthus* ran
 him through with his lance. By this strat-
 agem he got the victory, and with it the king-
 dom of *Athens*, *Thymætes* either yielding it
 voluntarily, or being deposed for his coward-
 ice, after he had reigned eight years. *Melan-*
thus reigned thirty-seven; and left the crown
 to his son *Codrus*, who enjoyed it twenty-one;
 and then generously sacrificed himself for the
 good of his country. For the *Heraclidae* hav-
 ing made an irruption into *Attica*, the oracle
 was consulted about it, and the answer was,
That the invaders should conquer, upon condition
they did not kill the Athenian King. Which *Co-*
drus having notice of, disguised himself in the
 habit of a peasant, and picking a quarrel with
 some

Melan-
thus.

Codrus,
the last
King.

some of the enemy, provoked them to kill him. Whereupon the *Athenians* sent an herald to them to demand the body of their King: Which message struck such a damp into them, that they immediately broke up their camp, and returned home.

Thus fell *Codrus*, and with him the title of King, which had continued, without any interruption, four hundred and eighty-seven years from *Cecrops* to *Codrus*. The *Athenians*, out of reverence to his memory, would suffer no more to govern by that name: This at least was their pretence, which they seldom wanted upon all occasions to enlarge their power, until at last they got it intirely into their own hands. The title of King was changed into that of *perpetual Archon*, or prince during life; and the succession preserved from father to son. Which was so gradual a fall, that most writers have ranked these *Archons* among their Kings; though I think not so properly, because their power was more precarious, they being obliged to give the people an account of their management, whenever they should demand it.

A. M.
2935.

The perpetual Archons.

The first of these *perpetual Archons* was *Medon* the eldest son of *Codrus*. His brother *Nileus* despised him because he was lame, and from thence took occasion to dispute the government with him. The people would have made this a pretence of putting them both by; and declared they would have no King but *Jupiter*:

Medon the first:

So

So that during the time of this contest, there was a sort of *Theocracy* in *Athens*. But at last the oracle giving it against *Nileus*, he, with the rest of his brothers, led out the colonies before-mentioned into *Asia*, and there founded the twelve famous cities of the *Ionians*, which were *Ephesus*, *Miletus*, *Priene*, *Colophon*, *Myus*, *Teos*, *Lebedos*, *Clazomenæ*, *Erythræ*, *Phocæa*, with *Chios*, and *Samos*, belonging to the two islands of these names.

From
whom the
rest were
called *Medontidæ*.

Medon governed twenty years, and after him succeeded twelve more of a regular descent from him, and therefore fir-named *Medontidæ*. Their names were *Acastus*, who governed thirty-six years, *Archippus* nineteen, *Thersippus* forty-one, *Phorbas* thirty, *Megacles* twenty-eight, *Diognetus* twenty-five, *Pherecles* nineteen, *Ariphron* twenty, *Thespius* twenty-seven, *Agamestor* seventeen, *Æschylus* twenty-three, and *Alcmæon* two years. There is scarce a memorable action mentioned of any one of them; but by them the government was carried on with ease, and without alteration, for the space of above three hundred years.

The first
age of poetry.

This unactive period of time gives us an opportunity of inquiring into the state of science, and literature, which began now to display themselves in [the more civilized parts of *Greece*. Poetry is in the first place to be considered, as it was the most ancient way of writing, and the chief vehicle, by which many other

other parts of knowledge were conveyed to mankind. As for *Linus*, *Orpheus*, *Museus*, and the other founders of the *Fabulous Theology*, their names have been delivered down to us with some general marks of esteem and reverence: But their history is too suspicious and confused, to admit of a serious relation, since we cannot fix their age, or country, and since the few remains we have of them, have been ascribed to others of a much later date. Upon the whole, there are few so hardy to deny, that there was any such thing as poetry in *Greece*, before *Homer*; but we have no sufficient authority to begin our account of it, but from him. And even here the criticks have been more industrious in settling the time, and country of this great man, than in examining his writings; and though they cannot decide the controversy, their attempts have not been altogether fruitless, inasmuch as they serve sufficiently to advance the credit of his works, which were the only grounds of their enquiry. Of all the places which have contended for him, *Smyrna* carries the fairest title: And he seems to have flourished between two and three hundred years after the destruction of *Troy*. As for those, who place him below the beginning of the *Olympiads*, it is not easily to be presumed, that he, who took all imaginable care to embellish his poems with descriptions, should omit so ornamental a part as the *Olympick*

pick Games; if he had been alive at the celebration of them. To consider him in his person and fortune, he is represented as a blind, indigent *Bard*, strolling up and down the country like a *Ballad-singer*. But the image of his mind gives us a noble prospect of him: It is there we view him in his full proportion, with all the advantages of art and nature, and reverence him as *the Prince, and father of the Grecian poets*. Some have so far refined upon his writings, as to pretend to draw from them the original not only of all kinds of poetry, but also of all arts and sciences, and religion, and government. But we may easily allow him to have been the most *universal genius* of his time, without making him the founder of states, and kingdoms; and the author of all civility: And it is sufficient to secure his fame to all ages, that the brightness and loftiness of his thoughts, the strength and beauty of his images, the dress of his fictions, the harmony of his numbers, the justness of his characters, and the artificial contexture of the whole, have carried the *Epick poem* in its infancy, if not at its birth, to an almost inimitable perfection.

Hesiod.

Hesiod, who was originally of *Cuma* in *Æolia*, but removed young to *Asra* a little village of *Bæotia*, is generally reckoned the next poet to *Homer*, as well in the value of his works, as in the period of his age. Some make him

him the elder of the two; others affirm they were contemporary, and that *Hesiod* carried the prize from him in a poetical contention. Upon which, *Lucian* makes a pleasant remark, *That Homer had much the better on't, but yet Hesiod was the victor.* Perhaps the epigram upon which this contest between them is grounded, may be supposititious; and *Hesiod* might flourish some years after the other. But it is certainly a great disadvantage to him to be placed so near to *Homer*, as if they were designed for rivals; whereas, the merit of *Hesiod* is of a quite different stamp. He contented himself with a *middle style*, without aspiring to the *sublime*; he chose rather to be delightful than pompous, and rather to speak properly, than finely. As he affected nothing more than the ease and retirement of a country life, his *genius* put him upon such subjects, as required the same easy plainness, and gravity: And his success in this kind of writing, is sufficient to justify his pretensions to a second place in poetry. *Maximus* of Tyre tells a story of him, which argues him to have been very jealous of his fame, or else a great humourist. For observing a potter, as he was at work, singing some of his verses with an ill accent and cadence, he throws himself down upon his pots, and breaks them; at which the poor fellow cries out, *Why do you spoil my work? Because,* says *Hesiod*, *you spoil mine.*

To

*An account
of the O-
lympick
Games.*

To this growth of poetry, we may add another effect of the general tranquillity Greece enjoyed at this time, which was the celebration of the *Olympick Games*, so called from *Olympia*, a city, near which they were performed in the plains of *Elis*. Some ascribe the first institution of them to *Hercules* one of the *Idæi Dactyli*; and others to *Pisus*, of whom we have nothing left but the name. But *Pelops* being more famous in history, is rather thought to have instituted them in honour of *Jupiter*: And after him *Atreus*, *Hercules* the son of *Alcmena*, *Oxylus*, and others renewed them. But as yet they were of no settled date, being celebrated only upon some extraordinary occasions, and without any remarkable pomp and solemnity. The first, from whom they became famous, was *Ipbitus* King of *Elis*, of the posterity of *Hercules*, who restored them by the advice of the oracle. They were repeated every fifth year; and hence the revolution of four complete years, which was the interval between each solemnity, was called an *Olympiad*. But even after *Ipbitus*, they seem not to have been continued regularly at first, because that which generally passes for the first *Olympiad*, in which *Coræbus* of *Elis* won the prize, was properly the twenty-eighth. However, it is from hence the *Vulgar Æra* of the *Olympiads* takes date; and falls in with the second year of *Æschylus*, the twelfth perpetual *Archon* of *Athens*, four hundred

*The first
Olympiad
A. M.
3228.*

hundred and eight years after the destruction of *Troy*, and in the 3228th year of the world. This *Epocha* is placed by *Varro*, as the boundary between the *Fabulous*, and *Historical* times, and is so much celebrated for its certainty, that the number of *Olympiads* has been reckoned among the *Chronological Characters*. They were the annals, by which the *Grecians* computed not only their own, but also the histories of other nations. And it will now be proper to make the same use of them, in the further prosecution of their story. The *Grecians* themselves were not presently acquainted with this way of computation; and as the use of the *Olympiads* in *Chronology* was only accidental, we must inquire into the more immediate design of these solemnities. As to the original of these, and the other principal games of *Greece*, they were instituted in honour of the gods and heroes; they were therefore termed *Sacred*, and are to be considered as a part of religion. But besides the spirit of religion, and the curiosity for publick shews, there were other politick motives, which engaged the exercise of them. It was thought convenient to re-assemble from time to time, and by these common solemnities, to re-unite, if possible, so many different states, independent of each other, and less separated by the distance of their habitations, than the diversity of their interests: So that one main end of these meetings, was to debate, and

settle every thing relating to the public peace, and reputation. As to the sports themselves, they were agreeable to the lively *Genius* of the people, who thought with good reason, they could not in times of peace addict themselves to exercises more honourable, or useful. For besides that by this means they made their limbs strong, active, and supple, they also accustomed their thoughts to the desire of conquest. It was a kind of *School*, or *Military Apprenticeship*, in which their courage found a constant employment: And the reason why the victory in these games was attended with such extraordinary applause, was, that their minds might be quickened with great and noble prospects, when, in this image of war, they arrived to a pitch of glory approaching, in some respects, to that of the most famous conqueror. They thought this sort of triumph one of the greatest parts of happiness, of which human nature was capable: Upon which occasion, when *Diagoras* had seen his sons crowned in the *Olympick* games, one of his friends made him this compliment, *Now, Diagoras, you may die satisfied; for you cannot be a god.* Not to describe all the exercises performed there, we may form a general notion of them from the remembrance of our own *Justs* and *Tournaments*, which held a middle place between a diversion, and a combat: But the *Olympick* games were attended with a much greater pomp
and

and variety ; and not only all *Greece*, but other neighbouring nations were in a manner drained, to furnish out the appearance. When they were thus thoroughly established, they were continued without intermission, so long as *Greece* enjoyed any degree of liberty ; and even after that was lost, some bring them down to the three hundred and twelfth year of *Christ*, under the reign of *Constantine the Great* ; and *Cedrenus* carries them about eighty years lower, making the 293d the last *Olympiad*.

But to return to *Athens*, upon *Alcmæon's* death the people took another occasion to change the government. They had already made such considerable abatements both in title and power, that they were a sufficient awe upon their prince's conduct : But the name of *Perpetual* now began to sound harsh ; and therefore they confined their *Archons* to the space of ten years. The first of this *Decennial* creation, was *Charops*, brother of *Alcmæon*, and son of *Æschylus*. The next were *Æsimeides*, *Clidicus*, *Hippomenes*, *Leocrates*, *Apfander*, and *Eryxias* ; of whom there is nothing particular, but that *Hippomenes* was deposed for his cruelty to his daughter, who being defloured, he shut her up with an horse, that for want of meat devoured her alive. *Eryxias*, who was the last of the race of *Codrus*, either dying, or deposed before his time was expired, some have substituted *Tlesias* to complete his term of

A. M.

3252.

Olym. 7.
1.

The Decennial Archons. Charops the first.

ten years. But this not being generally agreed on, and it seeming not improbable, that this *Tlesias* has been mistaken for *Lysias*, mentioned as the third *Annual Archon*, we may conclude this sort of government with *Eryxias*, after it continued about sixty-five years.

A. M.

3317.
Ol. 23. 2.
The government
changed
into a Democracy.

The Office
of the nine
Archons.

Thus way was made for that more thorough change, whereby the power and succession was given up to the people; who agreed, instead of one single man, to chuse nine; their authority was to last but one year; and if, at the end of it, they gave a good account of their administration, they passed into the senate of *Areopagus* for the rest of their life. The first of the nine was *Archon* properly so called, with an additional title of *Eponymus*, as giving denomination to his year, wherein all affairs of moment were transacted in his name. He had the care of a great part of their superstition, and kept a sort of *ecclesiastical Court*, wherein all causes were determined betwixt men and their wives, parents and children, kindred and neighbours; as also concerning wills, legacies, dowries, and inheritances. He had particularly the care of orphans, to manage their estates, and assign them guardians; and took the first cognizance of several publick actions. The second *Archon* had the name of *King*: He managed another part of their superstition; his office being to assist in the celebration of several festivals, to decide all disputes be-

tween

tween the *priests* and *sacred families*, and punish all impiety and prophanation of the holy mysteries in general. Besides which, he determined several causes both civil and criminal, or sometimes referred them to other courts. The third was called *Polemarchus*; who, besides the charge of some religious customs, had that of war committed to him, from whence he had his name. He had a great command in the armies abroad, and at home exercised the same jurisdiction over strangers, that the *Archon* did over the citizens. The other six had the common name of *Thesmothetæ*. They were in the nature of a *Court of appeal*, upon complaints of false accusation, calumniating, or bribery: And before them were brought all causes between the citizens and strangers, and controversies about trade and merchandize. They had properly the custody of the laws, and were placed as a *barrier* between the other magistrates, and the people; having power to oppose the enacting of any laws, which were apparently against the interests of the commonwealth. These were their distinct offices; and as to what equally concerned them in general, they had all the power of punishing malefactors with death: They had a joint commission for constituting some sort of magistrates and deposing others, when, upon an inquiry into their behaviour, and by the suffrages of the people, they were declared unworthy of their

M 3 office.

Creon the
first annual
Archon.

office. All together they had authority to assemble the people, as the Kings, and other *Archons* had done upon any emergent occasion. And as a recompence for their services, they were free from all taxes exacted of other citizens for the building of *men of war*; which was an immunity never granted to any besides themselves. The first of these *annual Archons* was *Creon*, who entered upon his charge in the second year of the twenty-third *Olympiad*. From him they were continued regularly: So that whatever interruptions the state suffered through faction and usurpation; yet this was the constant settled form of government, so long as *Athens* had the least remains of life and liberty.

But this liberty, of which *Theseus* laid the foundation, wanted several improvements, before it could receive its finishing stroke. The people had gained something by every alteration: And the power of the magistrates thus limited, was too weak to bridle such captious unsettled tempers, especially without the help of laws, both to guide and protect them in the execution of their offices. For it does not appear, that *Greece* had yet any written laws, but was governed altogether by the sentence of the magistrate. This occasioned daily disputes and quarrels; so that they could come to no agreement either as to the religious, or civil administration, every trifle affording
matte r

matter to alarm the ignorant, and incense the factious. Of which we have an instance in the attempt of *Cylon*, who had won the prize in the *course* at the celebration of the thirty-fifth *Olympiad*, and bore a considerable sway in the city. He took advantage from these disturbances to affect the sovereignty, and, in order to it, had seized the castle, where he stood a siege until he was almost starved, and then with his brother made his escape. His companions in the mean while fled for refuge to the image of *Minerva*; but the magistrates having inticed them with hopes of pardon, to quit their sanctuary, put most of them to death. This was afterwards reckoned so heinous an affront to religion, that the city was looked upon as polluted, and obnoxious to the wrath of the *goddesses*, until the authors were banished: And even after that, the memory of this murder was several times revived, and made use of to keep up a faction in the city. This story is generally placed about the forty-fifth *Olympiad*: But that time may relate more properly to the expiation of the murder, than to the attempt of *Cylon*, which seems to have happened a considerable while sooner.

The attempt of Cylon.

Thus *Athens* continued several years at a stand, until at last her calamities made her wise. She found by degrees, that true liberty consists in the due exercise of justice and reason, and

Draco
prescribes
laws.

A. M.

3380.

Olymp.

39 1.

that an intire subjection to them was not to be established, but by the authority of a legislator. To this purpose she pitched upon *Draco*, who was *Archon* in the thirty-ninth *Olympiad*; a man of wisdom and virtue, but rigid even beyond a sense of humanity. Of this severe stamp were his laws, of which he published many, leaving the execution of them chiefly to the court of the *Ephetae*, which he new modelled for that purpose. He punished almost every trivial offence with death, making no distinction between the stealing of a cabbage, or an apple, and sacrilege, or murder: Whereof it was said of his laws, *That they were writ not with ink, but with blood*: And he himself being asked, *Why he made death the punishment of most offences?* replied, *Small crimes deserve that, and I have no higher for the greatest.* This rigid notion of his seems to have been the original of the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, which prevailed so much in after-ages. But these laws met with the fate of all violent things; for their severity soon brought them into disuse. Yet this still gave the poor no relief against the oppression and usury of the rich, with which they were almost exhausted. So that the commons hated the nobility, the nobility feared the commons; and nothing but desolation seemed to attend the state.

At

At this time happened some commotions *The af-fairs of Lesbos.* between *Athens*, and *Mitylene* of *Lesbos*, about *Sigéum* a town of *Troas*, to which both sides laid equal claim. The *Athenians* under the conduct of *Phrynon*, and the *Lesbians* under *Pittacus* maintained the contest for some time with various success; until the two generals having agreed to decide it in their own persons, *Pittacus* entangled his adversary in a net, which he had hid under his shield, and killed him; Which stratagem seems to have been the foundation of the *Retiarii* among the *Romans*. *Phrynon killed. Olymp. 43. 3.* The *Athenians* afterwards renewed their pretensions under the conduct of *Pisistratus*, who took *Sigéum*, and placed his natural son *Hegestistratus* over it. But he being molested in his government, the business was referred to *Periander* of *Corinth*; and adjusted by his determination, that both sides should keep what they were then actually possessed of. This latter war seems to have been confounded with the former, because *Herodotus* speaks of the war in general, as of one single action under the conduct of *Alcæus* the *Lyrick* poet, without mention either of *Phrynon*, or *Pittacus*. *Pittacus.* As for *Pittacus*, he generally passes for a tyrant of *Mitylene*; but his conduct has sufficiently vindicated that part of his character. For he took the government rather in opposition to others than out of any private ambition; and held it no longer, than the necessities of

Alcæus.

of the state required. He made several good laws; and gave so many other proofs of his moderation and prudence, that he is ranked among the *seven wise men*. His chief adversary was *Alcæus*, who bore a great sway in the affairs of *Mitylene*, and valued himself more upon the character of a soldier, and patriot, than that of a poet; though his pretensions to either are not so well grounded. For in the action between the *Athenians* and *Mitylenians* he ran away, and left his shield to the enemy: And *Strabo* assures us, that, notwithstanding his cry against tyranny, he lay himself under a suspicion of the same designs, which he opposed in others. His writings were all in the *Lyrick* strain; his stile close, and correct, and withal pompous; and though he sometimes descends to sports and love, yet he always shews himself capable of greater subjects. *Horace* (with whom he is usually compared,) ascribes to him the invention of the *Barbiton*; though some attribute the same honour to *Terpander*, and others to *Anacreon*. He has also been complimented with the *golden lyre*, in relation to those pieces, which he writ against tyranny. Since we have mentioned him, we must not omit his great contemporary *Sappho*, who was also a native of *Mitylene*, and flourished about the forty-fourth *Olympiad*. Though she was by no means a beauty, yet *Alcæus* was a great admirer of her: But she was so far from receiving his addresses, that

Sappho.

that one day when he told her, *He had something to say to her, but that he was ashamed to bring it out*, she gave him an handsome repulse, telling him, *That if it were fit for her to hear, he would not have kept it in so long*. Her cruelty to him is the more remarkable, because she was so excessively amorous, that her character suffers very much from the charge of her unnatural intrigues with some of her own sex. Her famous galant was *Phaon*; whose unkindness in abandoning her, as it gave occasion to some of her finest pieces, so it afterwards was the cause of her death. She had wit enough to supply a great many other defects: And it is easy to judge, from the few remains we have of her, with what unaffected force, and sweetness she touched the passions, and how deservedly she has gained the title of the *tenth muse*. Near this time flourished *Archilochus*,
born in the island *Paros* about the twenty-ninth Olympiad. He generally passes for the author of the *Iambick* verse: But this kind of poetry was of a more ancient date; and *Homer* himself is mentioned as author of a piece in that strain, called *Margites*. So that *Archilochus's* title to this invention seems to be grounded chiefly upon the remarkable virulency, and success of his invectives against *Lycambes*; who having promised him his daughter, and, after the match was agreed on, refused to give her, the poet handled him so severely, that he and his

Stesichorus.

his daughter both hanged themselves. His way of writing was strong and nervous, yet short, and glittering, and enlivened with abundance of wit; but it had such a tincture of gall and malice, that he professes, *He could spare neither friend, nor foe.* But of those who conspired at this time to advance the *Lyrick muse*, none have been mentioned with more honour than *Stesichorus*. He was born in the thirty-seventh *Olympiad*, at *Himera* a city of *Sicily*; and received his name from the memory of his being the first who taught the *chorus* to dance to the *lyre*. We have no particular catalogue of his writings: But the distinguishing character of them is a majestick gravity; by which he sustained with his *lyre* all the weight and grandeur of an *epick* poem; insomuch that some have put him in competition with *Homer*. But withal it is owned he was not so great a master of his *genius*, as he; and it was chiefly upon account of the looseness and luxuriancy of his stile, that he would not bear the comparison. He was also a man of the first rank for wisdom and authority among his fellow-citizens, and seems to have had a great hand in the transactions between that state, and the tyrant *Phalaris*. As he had all along vigorously opposed him, so when he had carried his design, *Stesichorus* was the principal man in encouraging a revolt. Soon after which the tyrant seized him, and kept him, until he could invent a death

death answerable to his crime. This gave him an opportunity of acquainting himself with his person and excellencies, which turned his fury into the greatest love and esteem: And he was ever after so far from entertaining any suspicion of him himself, that he was remarkably zealous of vindicating him to others. He died about the eightieth year of his age, at *Catana*; whose inhabitants were so sensible of the honour his relicks did their city, that they resolved to keep them in defiance of the *Himerians*, who were no less obstinately bent upon the recovery of them, though at the expence of a war. The contest seems to have been adjusted by *Phalaris*, who told his subjects, that where-ever the poet was buried, yet upon account of his birth, and life, he would still be reckoned an *Himerian*. It is true this account of him depends upon the single authority of *Phalaris* himself; and though the *epistles*, which pass under his name, should not be genuine, they serve however to confirm the esteem, and character this poet bore with antiquity.

We left the *Athenians* under a dismal prospect of relapsing into their first disorders; which made them have recourse to fresh precautions. For the remedy prescribed by *Draco*, was itself in the nature of a disease: Insomuch that they who had the execution of his laws, found it necessary to slacken the reins, though it was not
safe

Solon.

Recovers
Salamis.Reforms
the state.

A. M.

3410.

Olym. 46.

3.

safe to quit them. In order therefore to find out such *mediums*, as were able to recompence the law for whatever they took from it, they cast their eyes on *Solon*, a man not biaſſed by any party, and whose great wiſdom and integrity, together with his extraordinary meekneſs, had gained him an univerſal love and eſteem. But that which firſt brought him into repute, was the recovery of the iſland *Salamis* his native country, lately revolted from the *Athenians* to the *Megareans*; which had ſeveral times been attempted, but with ſuch ill ſucceſs, that it was made death to ſtir any more in it. *Solon*, under a pretence of madneſs, took the liberty of making another motion; and acted his part ſo well, that by the oddneſs of his geſture, as well as the warmth and ſtrength of his reaſoning, he brought the people to conſent to another expedition: And under his conduct they ſurprized the iſland, by a ſtratagem of dreſſing their young men in womens clothes. *Solon*, upon the ſucceſs of this and other enterprizes, was choſen *Archon* in the third year of the forty-fixth *Olympiad*; and, beſides the power of his office, was authorized by a general voice to regulate their magiſtrates, aſſemblies, courts and ſenates; to appoint their number, times of meeting, and what eſtates ſhould capacitate them for ſuch and ſuch offices; in ſhort, to diſſolve or continue any of the preſent conſtitutions, and give them ſuch a new ſet of laws, as ſhould appear

to him most proper for the better modelling of the state.

There was so much pride, avarice, and faction at this time in the city, that *Solon* seemed unwilling to undertake so difficult a task. They were chiefly divided into three parties; one of which inclined to an *Oligarchy*, another to a *Democracy*, and a third, to balance the other two, was for a *mixt Government* between both. But the common people now ripe for sedition, claimed an equal division of the public lands in the hands of the rich; and were making themselves a head to do it by force, when *Solon* appeared with full power to redress their grievances, and quell these commotions. To strengthen his authority, the chief men offered him the *tyranny*; and his friends told him, *He might easily, by his conduct and moderation, change so odious a name into that of a Kingdom.* In answer to them, *A tyranny*, says he, *is a very fair spot, but it has no way to go out at:* And therefore he absolutely refused it, as not so consistent with his scheme of reformation.

The first step he made, was in favour of the *commons*, to release all debtors by an express law, called *Seisachthia*, or the taking off a burden: And to do it with the least injury he could to their rich creditors, he raised the value of money in some moderate proportion. But his management in this affair had like to have

Releases debtors.
proved

proved of very ill consequence: For having communicated his design to some of his friends, they made their advantage of it, by taking up vast sums of money, and purchasing land with it; and when the act was published, they refused payment of the money, and yet kept their estates. The people could not but fancy *Solon* at the bottom of this contrivance, until he cleared himself by remitting his debtors five, or as others say, fifteen talents. To make the rich some further amends, he assigned to them, exclusive of the people, all honours, offices and employments; though at the same time he took care to allay their power, by giving every private citizen a privilege of voting in the *Great Assembly* of the whole body of the state. Which however inconsiderable it might appear, was soon found to be of vast consequence. For it being permitted any man, after the determination of the magistrates, to appeal to the people, hence it came to pass, that causes of the greatest weight and moment were brought before them. And as they were not always on the right side, for this reason, *Anacharsis*, whom the fame of the *Grecian Sages* had drawn from the extreme parts of *Scythia*, told *Solon*, *He wondered to see wise men propose causes, and fools determine them.* This philosopher at another time was saying to him, *That written laws were like cobwebs; they held fast the poor and weak, but the rich and powerful easily broke through*

through them. To which Solon replied, *Both parties will obey the laws so long as it is the interest of neither to break them.* To say the truth, his chief care was of the *Commons*: But yet knowing the danger of committing things of the highest importance to the giddy unthinking multitude, he instituted the *Great council of four hundred*, an hundred out of each tribe; whose business it was, carefully to inspect all matters before they were brought into the *general assembly* of the people. And as for the *court of Areopagus*, he was so far from suppressing it, that he gave the members a more extensive jurisdiction; making these two *councils* the *anchors* of the common-wealth, whereby it would be less liable to be tossed by tumults, and become a prey to such as had knavery enough to design, and cunning and eloquence to intice the people to their own destruction. We must not omit another famous court called the *Heliastick council*, from their sitting open and exposed to the *sun*. It consisted of judges chosen out of the body of the people, from fifty to two thousand, according as the exigency of the causes required, of which they determined many, and those generally of the highest consequence.

*Regulates
the courts
of justice.*

This was his regulation of the principal courts of justice, with his provisions in general for the state. And as for particular institutions, he first repealed all *Draco's* laws, except those

*His other
miscellany
laws.*

concerning murder, and prescribed others better suited to the nature of offences. He provided particularly against idleness; inso-much that a son was not obliged to maintain his father, if he had not brought him up to some trade. He first gave leave to make wills, whereas before the nearest of kin inherited of course: But by this he insinuated, that friendship and affection were stronger ties than blood. He ordained, that women should have no portions, which he thought served only to make them a prey, and destroyed the ends of marriage. In the case of an heiress, he obliged him who had married her, to use her as his wife, at least three times a month; and if he proved insufficient, she might lye with his nearest kinsman: In other cases, any one might kill an adulterer, if he was taken in the act. Common mercenary prostitutes were in a great measure allowed of, for the satisfying of lust; but they were not to keep company with modest women, and, as a badge of distinction, wore flowered garments; neither were the men, who were notorious for frequenting their company, allowed to speak in public. He who forced a free woman, was fined a hundred drachms: But this law-giver was so indulgent in the use of boys, that he debarred only the slaves from it, as too great a privilege. He admitted none into any part of the magistracy under thirty years of age; and when they were

were entered, was more particularly severe in punishing their failings; insomuch that it was death to an *Archon* to be taken drunk. It is observable he made no law against parricide, as not imagining any would be guilty of it. These were the chief of his ordinances, and many more might be mentioned; of which one is very remarkable, that he branded those with infamy, who stood neuter in a sedition; as not thinking they could ever make good citizens, who expressed no fellow-feeling for their country. He also reformed the *Calendar*, reducing the year into such a form, as was most agreeable to the motion of the sun. Having compleated the body of the laws themselves, he took due care for the execution of them, that the citizens might not pretend ignorance in what they were to do, or to avoid. To this end, transcripts of them were publicly exposed in the city for every one to peruse; at least, so that any one might have recourse to them upon occasion: And it was the business of the *Thesmothetæ* to revise them carefully, and repeat them distinctly once a year. For the further information of the people, when they were summoned to the *General assembly*, they had notice given them of the subject-matter of the debate, and time to prepare themselves accordingly. *Solon's* last care was to perpetuate his laws: And lest, through the connivance of the magistrates, they should in time be neglected,

like those of his predecessor, he caused the senate to take a solemn oath to observe them; and every one of the *Thesmothetæ* vowed, that if he violated any of them, he would dedicate a golden statue of equal weight with himself to the *Delphian Apollo*: The people he also obliged to observe them a hundred years.

Thus he finished his new settlement; wherein his chief aim was to poise one part of the state with the other: So that what the commons wanted in wealth and honour, was sufficiently made up to them in their share of the government. This was reducing things, as near as he could, to an exact equality: And indeed it was no easy task to find out a cure for such a complication of distempers, where the weakness of those he had to do with, would hardly permit him to make use of suitable remedies. And therefore when one asked him, if he had prescribed good laws to the *Athenians*, Yes, said he, *as good as they are capable of receiving*. Since therefore they would admit of no government, but a *democracy*, he formed his laws according to that model. It did not indeed come up to that of *Sparta* laid down by *Lycurgus*; and the difference is easily accounted for, from the temper of the *Athenians*, which was too delicate, and capricious, to be brought to those grave and regular austerities; and without considering the great sway the people bore in the execution of the laws, the laws themselves

themselves were more numerous and confused, and could not therefore be so religiously observed, as they were at *Sparta*. Yet such this establishment was, as restored the love of labour and husbandry, made way for commerce, put the *Athenians* into a condition of being rich at home, and powerful abroad, and with the rules of justice, order, and discipline, served to tame and polish a people bred up in liberty, and persuaded that force and violence were the only preservatives against oppression.

This new constitution, though generally well received, yet was not free from censure: And therefore *Solon*, to prevent all cavilling and tampering with him about his laws, got leave to travel for ten years, in hopes they would in that time be established by custom. But whilst he was abroad taking a survey of *Ægypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Lydia*, *Athens* was again embroiled by the old faction of the three contending parties about the form of the common-wealth. The poorer sort inclining most to a *democracy*, were headed by *Pisistratus*, descended from King *Codrus*, and by the mother's side related to *Solon*; a man made up of design and artifice, yet seemingly open, tractable, and without passion. He professed nothing so much as a desire of equality, and aversion to change; and managed the disguise with something so modest and affable in his behaviour, and such a soft

Pisistratus.

and voluble tongue, that it was not easy to resist the appearance of so much merit. Nor indeed did any body suspect him but *Solon*, who being returned, soon perceived he was setting up for himself, and endeavoured to take him off first by fair means, often declaring both to himself and others, *That if it were not for his desire of rule, he knew no body better formed for a good man, and a good citizen.* But *Pisistratus* resolved to make use of the good opinion of those, who had thrown themselves upon his protection; and having wounded himself, went in his chariot into the market-place, where he complained of having been barbarously assaulted for his good intentions to the public; and demanded a guard might be assigned him for the defence of his person. *Solon*, upon this exploit, compared him to *Ulysses* in *Homer*, but told him, *He did not act the part right; for his design, says he, in cutting himself, was to deceive his enemies, but yours is against your fellow-citizens.* He also upbraided the people with their stupidity, telling them, *That for his own part, he had wit enough to see through this design, and courage enough to oppose it.* But *Pisistratus* his party prevailed; and having obtained a guard of fifty men, he insensibly increased the number, until, by their assistance, he possessed himself of the castle, and with that, of the sovereignty.

This

This gave a general alarm, and Solon was not wanting in his repeated efforts to the people, telling them, *They might with more ease indeed have crushed the tyranny in the bud; but that it would be more glorious now to pluck it up by the roots.* But the surprize struck such a damp into their spirits, that no body offered to back his remonstrances. On the contrary, they asked him, *To what he himself trusted, that he ventured to speak so boldly?* To whom he replied, *My age.* Finding all ways ineffectual to move them, he retired, saying, *He had at least the satisfaction of having discharged his duty to his country, and the laws.* Soon after, that he might not seem to countenance this change, he quitted *Athens*; and though *Pisistratus* importuned him to return, he chose rather to spend the remainder of his life in *Lydia*, *Cilicia* and *Cyprus*. In the former of these places he had the famous conference with *Cræsus* about happiness; the result of which was, *That no man could be accounted happy before he died.* *Cræsus*, who had invited him to admire the pomp and grandeur of his court, dismissed him with a contempt of his ignorance or ill manners: But being afterwards taken prisoner by *Cyrus*, and ordered to be burnt alive, he cried out thrice upon *Solon*; of which *Cyrus* demanding the reason, *Cræsus* told him all that had formerly passed between them, and that now he found his words verified. *Cyrus* was so affected with the relation,

Usurps the government.

A. M.

3443.

Olym. 54.
4.

Solon's
death:

And cha-
racter.

that he not only set him at liberty, but contracted a friendship with him, much to the honour of *Solon*, who by this means had preserved one King, and at the same time reformed another. In *Cilicia* he founded a city called from himself *Soleis*, and planted in it some *Athenians*, whose language being corrupted by that of the country, they were said to *Solæcise*. Soon after he died in *Cyprus* about the fifty-fifth *Olympiad*, the eightieth year of his age, and the second of *Pisistratus*'s government. Besides the wisdom, and integrity of this great man, which have appeared through the whole course of his laws, and administration, he was master of many other distinguishing qualities. He had so good a *genius* for rhetorick, that from him *Cicero* dates the rise of eloquence in *Athens*. He also made several successful attempts in poetry; and *Plato* says, it was only for want of due application, that he did not come to dispute the prize with *Homer* himself. But his most shining talent was the study of politicks, and morality; wherein he succeeded so well, as to obtain one of the first places among the *Sages* of antiquity.

We must not dismiss his character, without mentioning several of his contemporaries, who by displaying a fund of reason, and good sense, laid the foundation of these improvements, which afterwards made *Greece* the *metropolis* of science and philosophy. These were
the

the *seven wise men* properly so called; which *The seven wise men.* attribute was given to them in the third year of the forty-ninth *Olympiad*. Their names were *Thales, Pittacus, Bias, Solon, Cleobulus, Myson, and Chilon*. As most of them had a share in the government of cities and common-wealths, they directed the tenour of their precepts to the good establishment of their several societies they lived in. These they endeavoured to inculcate by short and comprehensive sentences, which were only general maxims of civil prudence, and morality, without order or connexion, concerning natural justice and honesty, piety to friends and relations, zeal for the public, and other common offices of life. Out of this loose collection, each of them assumed to himself some one sentence more remarkably expressive, in the nature of a *motto*. But the first of the seven had more refined notions than the rest, carrying his thoughts from matter of immediate use and practice, to speculation.

And here it may be requisite to make a more strict inquiry into the birth of *Philosophy*, *The birth of Philosophy.* which is certainly to be dated from this period of time, and is almost universally assigned to *Greece*. Not but that some parts of it were of a more early and foreign extraction, being chiefly such, as owed their original to chance, or necessity. Thus the *Ægyptians* formed the principles of *geometry* from the division of their harvests,

harvests, when their land-marks had been swept away, by the inundation of the *Nile*. The *Affyrians*, from the advantage of an open campaign country, a clear sky, and abundance of leisure, naturally betook themselves to the contemplation of the stars, and from thence laid the foundation of *Astronomy*: Among them, the *Chaldeans* refined upon these speculations, and improved them into notions of *Astrology*. And the *Phœnicians* drew a further more certain and beneficial use from them in respect of their navigation; wherein they succeeded so well, that they were the first who found out, that there was a fixt point towards the pole, by which pilots might steer with safety. The most general and extensive parts of learning the *Ægyptians* laid claim to: Though we have nothing certain of the first planters of civility among them, especially before their famous *Hermes Trismegistus*; and even of him, those remains which are still extant, are looked upon as a supposititious mixture of *Ægyptian*, *Platonick*, and *Christian* doctrine. It seems probable, that they derived a considerable share of their knowledge from their long and free intercourse with the first people, the *Jews*. For besides the time of their captivity among them, *Ægypt* was excepted from that general abhorrence, which they were commanded to express for most of the other *Gentiles*. But whatever foundation they had laid of the arts and sciences,

sciences, it is certain they did not make a fuitable progress in them. For as they were a people grossly superstitious, the priests taking advantage of their weakness, worked up their observations on nature into a sort of *Theology*; and by veiling them under *Symbols* and *Hieroglyphicks*, from the apprehensions of the vulgar, turned every thing into mystery and religion. They had their design, which was to beget a reverence in the people's hearts towards themselves: But this secret management was far from making any real advancement in philosophy. It served however to give them a mighty reputation in the world; which put the *Grecians*, who were of a very active and inquisitive temper, upon diving into their mysteries. With this design they made several voyages to them; and notwithstanding this *Ægyptian darkness*, made some discoveries which they carried home with them, and which served as the ground-work for an ample superstructure. Government being the principal care of all nations, *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, and others bent their studies this way, and made no further use of their travels, than to enrich their schemes with laws and state policies. Others, who were less engaged in state-affairs, turned their thoughts upon more subtle, and refined speculations concerning nature, and the works of Providence. The first, who made any successful attempts this way, at least the first we have any certain account

Thales.

account of, was *Thales*, who was born in the thirty-fifth *Olympiad*, and was thought to be originally a *Phœnician*, but living at *Miletus* of *Ionia*, was called the *Milesian*. He introduced into *Greece* the elements of *Geometry* and *Astronomy*; and formed several plausible notions of the theory of the *Universe*, which he conceived to be animated by a *supreme being*, as the *soul* of it, and the author of all natural motion. He had also some faint idea of the immortality of the soul. To him is ascribed the invention of taking the height of the *Pyramids* by their shadows. He divided the celestial sphere into five circles: He first observed the *Solstices*, and *Æquinoxes*; and discovered the reason of *Eclipses*, which before were looked upon as supernatural presages of some public calamity; and the common-people had, for several ages after, the same superstitious notions concerning them. His particular tenet was, that water is the first principle of all natural bodies. Having enriched his country with treasures of this kind, he passed for the *original founder of philosophy*; and died about ninety years old, as he was sitting a spectator at the *Olympick games*. His doctrine was soon propagated by *Anaximander*, and *Anaximenes*, both *Milesians*, and his scholars; the former of which made such considerable improvements, that he is reckoned the more immediate *founder of the Ionick sect*. In opposition to his master's opinion

Anaximander.

opinion concerning water, he made infinity the *universal principle*. He distinguished the four elements, discovered the obliquity of the *Zodiack*, and formed the first draught of a general system, by placing the earth in the centre of the *universe*. These were the steps these first heroes made in philosophy: And though they did not arrive to any distinct knowledge, so as to take off that veil, which was drawn over most of the works of Providence; yet it redounds very much to their glory, that they traced out the way so far, as to make them the subject of a more severe and accurate inquiry.

But the *Ionick* philosophy was soon eclipsed by another sect of a much greater extent and duration, which was called the *Italick*, and established in the person of *Pythagoras*: Of Pythagoras. whom we may give some general account, without entering upon the many contradictions and absurdities which have sullied both the life and doctrine of this great man. He was born at *Samos* towards the forty-seventh *Olympiad*. He studied first under *Hermodamas* a grammarian, and then improved himself under *Pherecydes* of *Syrus* one of the *Cyclades*, a man of great repute for his wisdom, and the first, as *Cicero* says, who asserted the immortality of the soul. He travelled young into *Ægypt*; where being well recommended by *Polycrates*, he found an easy access to the priests: Though,

as they were naturally jealous, and uncommunicative, they enjoined him all the austerities of their order, in hopes to deter him from penetrating too far into their mysteries. But his curiosity carried him through the strictest course of probation; and having in five and twenty years enriched himself with great variety of learning, he returned home. Where being under some apprehensions from the tyranny established at *Samos*, he removed first to *Peloponnesus*, and from thence to *Crotona* in *Italy*, where he spent the residue of his life; and was at last either killed, or starved to death by means of a tumult raised by one *Cylon*, because *Pythagoras* finding him to be a profligate young man, would not admit him into his school. The inhabitants of *Crotona* had formerly by their industry and courage gained such a reputation, that it was said proverbially of them, *The last of the Crotonians is the first of the Grecians*. But having suffered a great loss in a battle with the *Locrians*, they were sunk into a state of sloth and effeminacy at the time when *Pythagoras* settled among them. Who thinking it a task worthy his care, to restore them to a sense of their former merit, exerted himself in the nature of a lawgiver, and prescribed to them such convincing rules of religion, justice, temperance, and other virtues, that they easily assented to every thing he said, and the magistrates themselves courted him to accept

accept a share in the administration. After this reformation of their manners, he began to make open profession of his wisdom, in order to establish his sect. But thinking the title of *wise*, which his predecessors had assumed to themselves, too arrogant, he modestly declined it, and was the first that called himself a *philosopher*, or *lover of wisdom*. He enjoined his scholars silence for five years, to make himself heard with more attention and respect. He had learned in *Ægypt* to give to all his instructions an air of gravity and mystery: Yet to avoid being too enigmatical, he chose to deliver most of them in *Symbols*; which under a sense that was plain and simple, including another, that was wholly figurative, he endeavoured by them, neither to *divulge* his doctrine, nor to *conceal* it; for these short expressions held a middle place between the *Hieroglyphick*, and the common way of discourse, and were therefore thought most proper for his design, which was to *disclose* the truth, without *prophaning* it. His common method of teaching, was by *Geometry*, *Numbers*, and *Musick*; by the first of which he explained material and sensible things, and by the two latter, intellectual. Not that he fancied there was any intrinsic virtue in numbers, but that these just proportions, as they served to divide and explain things, so they made his doctrine appear more profound, than really it was. As to his
Theology,

Theology, he was the first who brought into Greece the true name of God, which he communicated to his disciples under the name of *Quaternion*, or *number of four*: For the *Quaternion* of *Pythagoras* is allowed to be the *inutterable* name, or the *Jehovah* of the *Hebrews*. He had also been brought up in a belief of the soul's immortality: But because he could not conceive how it should exist after its separation from the body, this put him upon establishing his opinion of the *Metempsychosis*, or transmigration of souls; and for this reason he forbade the eating of flesh, or using it in sacrifices. He was the first who taught the principles of *Physicks*: And though we cannot expect from him any complete system, yet there was in the whole course of his inquiries something more solid and regular, than what had hitherto been delivered. From hence it was, that his sect soon arrived to be the only one of a fixed reputation; and out of it came all the philosophers, who flourished for the space of near four hundred years, and who were divided into so many different sects.

But to return to *Athens*, *Pisistratus* did not enjoy his usurpation much above three years, before he was displaced by *Megacles*, and *Lycurgus*, the heads of the two other factions; who also in five years more were a means of his restitution. For not agreeing among themselves, *Megacles* promised to restore him upon
con-

condition he would marry his daughter. With this design, they dressed up *Phya* a tall woman in armour to counterfeit *Minerva*, and putting her in a chariot, sent to prepare the citizens for her reception, telling them, the goddess was come in person in behalf of *Pisistratus*: Which being acted with wonderful assurance, succeeded so well, that they immediately adored the deity, and re-instated her favourite. In about ten years *Megacles* revived the quarrel upon a pretence that *Pisistratus* slighted his daughter, and having married her only to regain the sovereignty, did not use her as his wife. He being informed of the designs against him, retired voluntarily into *Eretria*, a city of *Eubæa*: And after ten years more having formed an alliance with the *Argives* and *Thebans*, got *Marathon* a town of *Attica*, into his hands. From thence he marched against *Athens*, routed those who came out against him, and, that they should not rally, sent them word, *They had nothing to fear from him, if they would go home, and be quiet.* By this means he got possession the third time, and established himself by his money and allies, and by keeping his enemies sons as hostages until his death, which happened not long after. During the whole course of his reign, which was thirty-three years, including the sixteen of his exile, he demeaned himself with such moderation and justice, as might have put lawful sovereigns to the blush. Of

*Pisistratus
his death.*

A. M.

3476.

Olymp.

63. 1.

And character.

which we have an instance in *Plutarch*, that being accused of a murder, though it was in the time of his tyranny, he went to plead his cause before the *Areopagites*; but his accuser did not appear. He not only carried it fair with *Solon*, but paid a sort of reverence to his person, and his laws; to which he made some few additions, by providing for the maintenance of maimed soldiers, to oblige the army, and ordering the country to be kept in good tillage. The pretence of this last, was to prevent idleness, and promote husbandry; but the real design was to disperse the people, as the surest method to take away all occasion of plotting and caballing, and to support a precarious government. Besides his natural talent for oratory, he had more acquired learning, than was generally to be met with in those times; and expressed a particular esteem of it, by erecting the first public library. He was certainly master of many excellent qualities; and perverted them no further, than as they stood in competition with empire. So that the people had nothing to object against him, but his having a power greater than the laws; and by his not exerting that power, when it was in his hands, he almost conquered the aversion the *Athenians* had conceived for the *royalty*. Upon these accounts he was deservedly opposed to other tyrants, and usurpers: And *Cicero* thought it no reflection upon *Julius Cæsar*, to call

call him *The Pisistratus of Rome*. In another place, doubting with himself, how that Emperor would use his good fortune after the battle of *Pharsalia*, *We are uncertain yet*, says he to his friend Atticus, *whether the fate of Rome will have it, that we groan under a Phalaris, or enjoy ourselves under a Pisistratus*.

He left his three son, *Hippias*, *Hipparchus*, and *Theffalus* in joint possession of the government, the supreme authority being lodged in *Hippias* as the eldest. *Theffalus* is represented as bold and headstrong: Though *Diodorus* makes him the most deserving of the three; and says, he ingratiated himself with the people, by quitting his share in the tyranny. But the accounts of the two former being more clear, and full, we must confine ourselves to their story. They continued the laws, and magistrates as they found them; adorned the city; and exacted only the twentieth part of the public revenue: They agreed so well among themselves, and pursued their father's methods so successfully, that *Athens* had still nothing but the name of tyranny to complain of.

Here we must leave them in the quiet possession of *Athens*, to take a view of another tyranny erected about the same time in *Samos*. The government of this island had hitherto been in the hands of the people: *Herodotus* indeed mentions a former King under the name of *Amphicrates*, but without the time or other

*Account of
Samos,
under Po-
lycrates.*

circumstances of his reign; and therefore we may look upon *Polycrates* as the first, of whom we have any certain account. He having usurped the government, at first divided it with his two brothers; until having murdered one, and banished the other, he became absolute, and established himself by an alliance with *Ægypt*. It was a maxim with him, *That he gratified his friend more by restoring what he had taken, than if he had never taken any thing from him.* Wherefore having made himself master of a fleet of a hundred sail, he harrassed all the country about him; made his name formidable both in *Europe* and *Asia*; and had such an incredible glut of good fortune to encourage his attempts, that from oppressing his subjects and neighbours, he aspired to the sovereignty of *Greece*. In the mean while an exiled party of the *Samians*, though they were an *Athenian* colony, addressed themselves to the *Lacedæmonians* for their assistance. For *Sparta* by her strict discipline, and the late successful effects of it in the *Messenian* wars, had so far got the start of her neighbours in military glory, that the first application of any state in distress, was generally made to her. The *Lacedæmonians* gave them a satisfactory answer, as thinking it necessary to stop the tyrant's progress: So that whatever specious pretences they formed to palliate the business, they resolved to proceed against him as a common enemy. Accordingly they

they arrived at *Samos* with a great fleet, and invested the city : But attempting to storm it, were repulsed with loss; and having lain forty days before it, were forced to raise the siege, and return home. Those *Samians*, who were in the conspiracy, when they found they had miscarried in this enterprize, retired into *Crete*, and built *Cydonia*: but *Polycrates* was soon after betrayed into the hands of the *Persians*, and nailed to a cross. The *Samians* were so remiss in asserting their freedom upon his death, that they suffered him to be succeeded by his secretary *Mæandrius*. He was forced to give way to *Syloson*, the brother of *Polycrates*; who returning from his exile with a body of *Persians*, possessed himself of the island, and treated the inhabitants with great severity. Yet still they admitted his son *Æaces*: and though they recovered their liberty, by the expulsion of this latter, it was not owing so much to their own endeavours, as to the juncture of affairs at that time, which wrought a general change of government throughout all the cities of *Ionia*. Notwithstanding the ill success of the *Lacedæmonians* against *Samos*, they were still importuned and courted: And the *Platæans* were the next, who implored their protection against the continual insults of their neighbours the *Thebans*. But they excused themselves, as lying at too great a distance to relieve them, and referred them to the *Athenians*: Who accordingly entered

The death of Poly-
crates.

A. M.

3481.

Olymp.

64. 2.

Mæan-
drius.

Syloson.

Æaces.

The Pla-
tæans alli-
ance with
Athens.

A. M.

3484.

Olymp.

65. 1.

into a strict alliance with them; which for many years after proved a great eye-sore to the *Thebans*, and their confederates.

But to return to *Athens*, this harmony in the state, after it had lasted about fourteen years from the death of *Pisistratus*, was destroyed by an accident, which befel *Hipparchus*. He was a man of wisdom and learning, but being naturally amorous, fell in love with a young man called *Harmodius*; and finding after many solicitations he would not comply, to be revenged of him, offered violence to his sister. *Harmodius* acquainted his friend *Aristogiton* with the whole affair; who being also a passionate admirer of him, they formed a conspiracy against *Hipparchus*, and the tyranny. They fixed the execution of their designs upon the feast of *Panathenæa*, because at that time they might go armed without suspicion; and taking their opportunity, rushed in upon him, and stabbed him, but were themselves also slain in the tumult. *Hippias*, to prevent further disorders, got all those disarmed, whom he could any way suspect as accomplices in the enterprise; and though he was sufficiently exasperated at his brother's death, he did not think this a proper time to resent it. But not knowing how far this accident might contribute to the subversion of the tyranny, he thought it necessary to strike a terror into his subjects, before they had gained too far upon him. So that from that time he became

Hipparchus
killed.

became cruel and imperious, and endeavoured to establish himself by measures quite contrary to those he had hitherto pursued.

But the *Athenians* being more thoroughly roused by this violent proceeding, thought it time to throw off the yoke, when they felt the weight of it. The chief who stirred in it, were the *Alcmæonidæ*, a part of *Megacles's* faction, descended from *Nestor* by *Alcmæon*, and driven out of *Messenia* by the *Heraclidæ*. They distrusting their own strength, corrupted the *Pythia* to engage the *Lacedæmonians* in their quarrel: So that whatever business the *Spartans* consulted about at *Delphi*, the oracle constantly proposed to them the setting *Athens* at liberty. By which repeated advice, they were forced to undertake it as a point of religion; and accordingly sent an army under the command of *Anchimolius*. The *Pisistratidæ* having notice of it, procured a thousand horse out of *Thessaly*; who falling in upon the *Spartan* camp, slew the General with many others, and beat the rest to their ships. The *Lacedæmonians* afterwards sent another army by land under *Cleomenes* the son of *Anaxandrides*, who engaging with the *Thessalian* horse, killed about forty, and put the rest to flight. After which the *Pisistratidæ* retired into the city, and ordered their children to be conveyed away privately: But the *Spartans* happening to intercept them, would accept of no other ransom, than that their parents would within five days

Hippias
expelled.
A. M.
3493.
Olymp.
67. 3.

leave *Attica*: Which accordingly they did; and *Hippias* went immediately to *Lampsacus*, (whose Prince had married his daughter) having not possessed the tyranny above four years after his brother's death. Thus was *Athens* re-instated with a full appearance of liberty, after an interruption of one and fifty years; thirty-five of which *Pisistratus* and his sons were actually in possession of the government. This change was immediately owing to the *Alcmaeonidae*; but *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton* were so far instrumental in it, that, because they began the attempt, and fell a sacrifice to the cause, the *Athenians* erected statues to their memory, with a decree that their names should never be given to any slaves. They also consecrated a lioness without a tongue, in honour of *Leæna Aristogiton's* mistress; who being put to the torture by *Hippias*, to force her to a discovery of the plot, she bit off her tongue, and spit it in the executioner's face, that she might not have it in her power to confess.

The End of the First Book.

T H E

THE
GREEKIAN
HISTORY.

BOOK II.

The affairs of *Greece*, from the entire subversion of the regal power in *Athens*, to the end of the *Peloponnesian* war.

Containing the space of 105 years.

CHAP. I.

From the expulsion of *Hippias* to the battle of *Marathon*.

Containing the space of 20 years.

GREECE was no sooner settled under her several new forms of government, but the whole power of *Asia* threatened her with unavoidable destruction. This was the famous
Persian

Persian war; wherein though *Athens* was principally concerned, the other states were obliged for their common interest and safety to unite, as they did in the *Trojan* war: And as that first general expedition put an end to the *infancy* of *Greece*, so did this to its *minority*. But before we pass into *Asia*, we must take a view of *Athens* and *Sparta*, with the most remarkable transactions that happened before the coming down of the *Persian*, being chiefly such as contributed towards it.

Clis-
thenes and
Isagoras.

The regal power was no sooner abolished in *Athens*, but the people wrested too great a share of the government into their hands: So that things were carried by tumult and faction; and they were seldom free from as great, or worse disorders, than those they complained of under their Kings. The first contest after the expulsion of the *Pisistratidae*, was between *Clis-thenes* and *Isagoras*, two principal men of the city, who were both grasping at the same power, which they had so lately been very instrumental in suppressing. *Clis-thenes* finding his party too weak to carry it with a high hand, fell in with the people, and from an invader of their liberties, set up for a patriot. To this end he changed the names of the tribes, encreasing the number from four to ten; and added an hundred to the *council of four hundred*, ordering fifty to be chosen annually out of each tribe.

But

But his most popular act was the *Ostracism*; ^{*The Ostracism.*} which by some is carried as high as *Theseus*, but more generally granted to have been introduced about this time, and ascribed to *Clisthenes* as the author, who is also recorded as the first example of his own law. The manner of performing it was, that every citizen, not under sixty years old, should give in a name written upon a *tile* or *oyster-shell*, (from whence it had its name) and he, upon whom the majority fell, was pronounced banished for ten years. The pretence of this institution was not to punish those as offenders, who had deserved well of the state, but only to blunt the edge of envy by removing the object; and for this reason their estates were preserved intire for them until their return. But the real design was to take off all such as for reputation, quality, riches, or eloquence, were esteemed above the common level: Which was a barbarous discouragement to all sorts of merit and ambition, and yet judged necessary in a state, where all were to be of equal credit and authority. And therefore it obtained not only in *Athens*, but also in *Argos*, *Megara*, *Miletus*, and *Syracuse*, though under different names, and with several restrictions. The last who suffered this way, was *Hyperbolus* an idle rascally fellow, who made it his business to furnish scandal for the stage, and was made use of by the people, as a necessary tool to asperse men of interest and reputation.

It happened that *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Phæax* being of different factions, and bearing a great sway in the state, lay open to the envy of the inferior citizens; who therefore would have one of them banished. Which they having notice of, united their parties, and turned the *Ostracism* upon *Hyperbolus*, who had set the people against them. But this was thought such a contempt put upon the thing, that upon his account it was laid aside.

Isagoras being by these methods over-powered at home, betook himself to *Cleomenes* the Spartan King, with whom he had contracted an intimacy during the war with *Hippias*. He espoused his quarrel, and having got *Cliftbenes*, and the heads of his party banished the city, marched thither with an army, and expelled seven hundred families more of those, who were likely to make head against him, but did it under a pretence of their not having expiated the death of *Cylon*. His next attempt was to dissolve the senate, and commit the administration to three hundred of *Isagoras*'s faction: But this being strongly opposed both by senate, and people, he seized the castle, where he suffered himself for two days to be besieged. On the third *Isagoras*, and *Cleomenes* with his Spartans, had leave to depart; but the *Athenians*, who had been assisting in this enterprize, were imprisoned, and put to death. After which *Cliftbenes*, with the seven hundred families, was recalled;

recalled; who finding it not safe to make any further attempts upon the liberty of *Athens*, restored the *Democracy*, as settled by *Solon*.

The Athenians seek alliance with Persia.

But the *Athenians* knowing how they had incensed the *Lacedæmonians*, thought it necessary to be upon their guard, and therefore sent to enter into alliance with the *Persian*, who made that a pretence to demand of them *earth* and *water*, the usual tokens of homage and subjection, by which was yielded up the sovereignty and propriety of all included in those elements. The Ambassadors finding they would not treat with them upon any other terms, consented to it, but were mightily blamed at their return, as having acted so much below the dignity of the state: And indeed this servile compliance may be considered as one remote cause of the *Persian* descent.

Cleomenes in the mean while was levying forces, to make another attempt in behalf of *Isageras*; with which he marched into *Attica*, having contracted with the *Bæotians* and *Chalcidians* of *Eubæa*, to second his attack in other places at the same time. The *Athenians* thus distressed on all sides, chose first to meet the *Peloponnesians* lying in *Eleusis*; and just as they were making up to them, the *Corinthians* moved with the injustice of their cause, drew off, and were seconded by *Demaratus* the other *Spartan* King. The rest following their example, the whole army was dispersed without any action.

action. But the *Athenians* reeked their revenge upon the *Bæotians*, killing and taking many of them prisoners; and passing over the same day into *Eubæa*, did the like by the *Chalcidians*. The *Thebans* in this extremity contracted a league with *Ægina*, a small island but very rich and powerful at sea: It was withal a professed enemy to *Athens*; and was so conveniently situated for annoying her, that *Pericles* was wont to call it *The Eye sore of the Piræus*. While the *Æginetans* were infesting the coasts of *Attica*, the *Lacedæmonians* took this opportunity to renew their quarrel with the *Athenians*, whom, since the recovery of their liberty had put them into a flourishing condition, they began to look upon as rivals. The best way of reducing them, they thought would be to place a tyrant over them; and finding they could do no good with *Isagoras*, they sent for *Hippias*, with a design to reinstate him: But debating the matter among their confederates, it was violently opposed, particularly by *Soficles* a *Corinthian*, who inveighing against this and all other sorts of tyranny, nothing more was done in it. So that *Hippias* returned into *Asia*; and having got an interest in the *Persian* court, made it his business to incense them against *Athens*, in hopes by their assistance to be restored: And he so far prevailed, that when the *Athenians* sent to vindicate their proceedings, telling them, *That Hippias, as being an exile, ought not to have any credit,*

dit, or countenance among them, the answer they received was, *That if they would be safe, they must admit Hippias.* Athens having so lately thrown off the yoke, had too lively a sense of her past calamities, to accept the condition, and resolved rather to suffer the last extremity, than open her gates again to a tyrant. Which refusal is to be considered as a principal circumstance in the quarrel between *Greece* and *Persia*.

The grounds of the Persian war.

But to set these affairs in a clear light, we must begin our account of them in *Ionia*, where the war was kindled, and from whence it spread in its progress, and was never thoroughly extinguished, but in the intire subversion of the *Persian monarchy*. The *Ionians* with the *Æolians*, *Carians*, and others stretching along the sea-coast of the *Lower Asia*, came to form a very considerable body of men, and went under the general name of the *Asiatick Grecians*, being governed chiefly by their own laws, with a full enjoyment of their liberty for about five hundred years from their first settling in those parts. After which they were overtopped by the growth of *Lydia*, and made tributary to *Cræsus*, who subdued them; until *Lydia* itself soon after falling into the hands of the *Persians*, they were also assigned over with it, as a part of the *Lydian* territory, having governors placed over their several cities, whom they called their tyrants. But as an half-conquered people, they were ready upon all occasions

The affairs of the Lesser Asia.

cations to rebel, and made several unsuccessful struggles both in *Cyrus's* time, and after him: The *Ionians* particularly, who bore the greatest sway among them, and made as remarkable a figure as any of the *Grecian* colonies, could not brook this being shifted about from one to another, and therefore let no advantage slip, which they could hope to improve into the recovery of their liberty.

*Darius his
Scythian
expedition.*

That which favoured their designs at this time, was an expedition of *Darius Hystaspes* the *Persian* King, against the *Scythians*: In order to which he had laid a bridge over the *Ister*, and transported a numerous army, leaving the *Ionians*, and their neighbours at the bridge, to secure his retreat, and assist him with their shipping. Whilst *Darius* was advanced into the country, the *Ionians* finding him, and his whole army at their disposal, fell into a debate, whether they should execute their charge, or, by breaking down the bridge, leave them to the fury of the enemy. Besides their own inclinations for the latter, the *Scythians* persuaded them to return home; assuring them, that *Darius* would never more be in a capacity of doing them good or harm. But the chief encourager of this motion, was the famous *Miltiades* an *Athenian*, descended from *Codrus*, whose ancestors had retired during the tyranny of *Pisistratus*, and left him at this time in the government of the *Thracian Chersonese*. He represented

presented the easiness and consequence of such an action, telling them, *This was their time to free themselves from the Persian yoke.* And they had certainly followed his advice, if *Histiæus*, tyrant of *Miletus*, a principal city of *Ionian*, had not strongly opposed it, urging to the other tyrants, *That their power was too precarious to subsist of itself, unless supported by the King their master; and that therefore their safety depended intirely upon his.* Which argument swayed so much with them, that the project fell; and *Darius* being obliged to retire out of *Scythia*, they conducted him safe into *Asia*. Who, that he might make up in one country, the losses he sustained in another, left *Megabyzus* in *Europe* with eighty thousand men to reduce *Thrace*, and other maritime places; after which he thought *Macedonia* would fall of course. This General soon executed the King's order; and then dispatched seven principal men of the army to *Amyntas* King of *Macedonia*, to demand *earth and water*. Who doubting his own strength, not only complied with their demands, but gave them a splendid entertainment, in the height of which, when they were heated with wine, they desired *Amyntas* to crown so magnificent a feast, with the usual freedoms of gallantry, and that, as an earnest of their being welcome, the wives and daughters of the *Macedonians* might be admitted into the company. No

sooner were the women come into the room, but the *Persians* behaved themselves with great immodesty towards them: Upon which *Alexander*, *Amyntas's* son, desired his father, in regard to his age and gravity, to retire, and leave him to keep them within bounds, or else to chastise their insolence. Accordingly he took the women out of the room, under pretence of dressing them up to appear more agreeable, and in their stead brought in the same number of young men in female apparel, with daggers under their cloaths; who watching their opportunity, when the strangers began to be free with them, stabbed every man of them, with their retinue. *Megabyzus* hearing nothing of his messengers, sent *Bubares* with part of the army, to make a strict inquiry into the business: But he was taken off by marriage with *Alexander's* sister, and so the matter fell. The next year *Otanes* being sent as successor to *Megabyzus*, reduced the cities *Chalcedon* and *Byzantium*, with the island *Lemnos*, and other places of less note. *Darius* himself

Histiaus, was now retired to *Susa*, and with him *Histiaeus*; who being of a working head, and restless spirit, and presuming upon his service at the *Ister*, the King did not think it safe to leave him behind; and therefore took him by fair means, under a pretence of using him as his counsellor and companion. But *Histiaeus* saw too far into his designs, to be easy under this change,

change, which he looked upon but as a more specious sort of imprisonment; and therefore made it his business to excite the *Ionians* to rebel, in hopes, that in regard to his interest in that country, he should be sent to reduce them, and from thence pick out some opportunity of setting up for himself.

To this end, he sent secret instructions to *Aristagoras* his deputy at *Miletus*, who was easily tempted to that which he was going to undertake of himself. For having proposed to *Darius* the conquest of the *Cyclades* islands in the *Ægean* sea, and miscarried in his first attempt upon *Naxos*, he thought of encouraging the *Ionians* to revolt, as a means to secure his interest in those parts, and prevent his being called to account for mismanagement. His first step was to abandon his own tyranny; whereby having sufficiently obliged the *Milesians*, they assisted him in procuring the same liberty for the other cities: by which plausible methods he soon had the whole country at his command. And to strengthen himself by sea, he surpris'd the *Persian* fleet, of which he was lately Admiral in the enterprize of *Naxos*. But not having any sufficient force to oppose to the whole *Persian* army, which he knew would soon be upon him, he went to *Sparta*; where he set forth the riches of *Asia*, with the weakness of the inhabitants, in hopes to engage *Gleomenes* to join with him in the

and *Aristagoras*,
excite a
rebellion.

A. M.

3502.

Olymp.

69. 3.

conquest of *Persia*. But not prevailing, he went from thence to *Athens*, where he used the same arguments, adding, that the *Milesians*, as an *Athenian* colony, might very reasonably expect their assistance.

And engage the Athenians in the quarrel.

The *Athenians* had at this time met with such very rough treatment from the *Persian* in the business of *Hippias*, that they readily embraced this opportunity of shewing their resentment; and accordingly manned out twenty ships, to which the *Eretrians* of *Eubœa* added five more. *Aristagoras*, with these joint forces, fell upon the *Persian* frontiers, and surprised *Sardis*, the capital city of *Lydia*. *Artaphernes*, who resided here as Vice-Roy of *Lydia* and *Ionian*, was glad to secure himself in the castle, from whence he beheld the citizens slaughtered, and the town in flames. The *Persians* and *Lydians* at last getting into a body, charged the enemy, and drove them to the sea-side, killing many in the pursuit, and forcing the rest to shelter themselves in *Ephesus*, and other neighbouring cities. The *Athenians* could by no means be persuaded to rally after this defeat; so that what they had done, served only to incense the *Persian*, without any honour, or advantage to themselves. But the *Ionians* knowing they were gone too far to retreat, resolved to push on their fortunes without them: And having taken *Byzantium*, with other towns upon the *Hellepont*, drew over *Cyprus*, with a great part of *Caria*,

Caria, into their alliance. But a sudden stop was put to their progress by a sharp conflict at *Cyprus*, wherein the two Generals *Artybius* the *Persian*, and *Onesilas* the *Cyprian*, who encouraged the revolt of that island, were killed. By sea the *Ionians* had some advantage; but the *Cyprians* were so entirely routed by land, that they were forced again to submit to the *Persian* yoke in a year after they had thrown it off. The *Ionians*, upon the ill success of this battle, made to their ships, leaving the *Persians* in a condition to act offensively: So that they easily reduced *Caria*, and most of the towns upon the *Hellespont* and *Propontis*, with *Clazomenæ* in *Ionia*, and *Cumæ* in *Æolia*. Whereupon *Aristagoras* fled to *Thrace*, and being opposed by the inhabitants, was cut off with all his forces.

Aristagoras killed.

Histæus finding things grown to a head, thought it time to stir: And though *Darius* suspected him, he still carried it fair with him, and trusted him with a commission to go and pacify the troubles in *Ionia*. But when he came to *Sardis*, *Artaphernes* could not forbear taxing him as the incendiary, telling him plainly, *That the shoe, which Aristagoras had put on, was of his making.* So that finding himself detected, he knew not where to fix, but kept in continual motion from one place to another, in hopes to pick up strength enough to carry on his designs by open force. But he who had

acted on both sides, was not easily trusted by either; neither would his own friends the *Milesians* admit him into their city, though they had at this time need enough of his assistance. For the war being pretty well over in other parts, was carried on with the greater vigour in *Ionia*; and the chief of the *Persian* forces were employed against *Miletus*. The *Milesians* had no land army to oppose them: But by the assistance of their neighbours, particularly the *Chians*, *Lesbians* and *Samians*, they furnished out a fleet of between three and four hundred sail. The *Persian* navy consisted chiefly of *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, *Ægyptians*, and *Cilicians*; and though they had the superiority by almost double the number of vessels, they thought it more adviseable to treat with the several tyrants, whom *Aristagoras* had deposed, to draw off their citizens, than to hazard an engagement. While they were managing this affair, the *Samians* concluded it would be to no purpose to incur the anger of the *Persian*, who, if he were defeated now, could soon send a fleet five times as large; and therefore were the first who went off. The confederacy being once broke, the *Lesbians*, with a great part of the *Ionians*, followed; So that the *Chians* alone stood to it, and were worsted. The *Persians* having carried their point at sea, left the *Milesians* nothing but their walls to trust to; and it was not long before the city was closely

closely blocked up, taken, and plundered, part of the citizens being slain, and the rest carried prisoners with their wives and children to *Susa*. The fate of this city did in a manner put an end to the war. But *Histiæus*, who only waited to form his measures according to the event of this siege, by the help of some *Lesbians*, easily subdued *Chios*, which was just before drained and weakened; and having picked up more scattered remains of the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, passed from thence into *Myſia* upon some greater expedition. But falling in with *Harpagus*, who lay there with a considerable body of *Persians*, lost most of his men, was himself taken prisoner, and carried to *Ataphernes*, who immediately nailed him to a cross, and sent his head to *Darius*; who was so far from being pleased with the present, that he gave it honourable interment, and lamented him as one who had deserved well of him, and his country. Thus the *Ionian* rebellion, which had continued six years from its first breaking out under *Aristagoras*, was by the death of *Histiæus*, and the fall of *Miletus*, intirely suppressed. For the islands, and the cities on the continent fell in of course, when there was no body left to head them: And this was the third time the *Ionians* were forced to undergo the yoke, first under the *Lydians*, and twice under the *Persians*.

Miletus taken.

The Ionian rebellion suppressed.
A. M.
3508.
Olymp.
71. 1.

Mardonius
us the
Persian
General.

His fruit-
less expe-
dition.

Darius, whilst he was settling the tribute, and securing his conquests; cast his thoughts upon *Europe*, and made several attempts on that side with various success: So that the end of this war was in effect, but the beginning of that long train of evils, which he brought upon himself, and his successors. Two years after the taking of *Miletus*, he withdrew the commissions of his late captains, and sent in their room *Mardonius*, who had married his daughter, with a good sufficient fleet and army. He went first into *Ionia*; where to keep the inhabitants firm to the *Persian* interest, he dissolved all the tyrannies, and restored the *democracy*. His next expedition was with his fleet against *Thasus*, a rich island over against *Thrace*, the land forces being employed at the same time in reducing the other parts of *Macedonia*, which had not yet declared for his master. Having been thus far successful, he coasted along by mount *Athos*, where he met with such a violent storm, that he lost three hundred of his vessels, and in them above twenty thousand men. It happened just after, that the foot being quartered in *Macedonia*, the *Brygi*, a people of *Thrace*, fell upon them by night, killed many, and wounded *Mardonius*. And though he soon rallied, and subdued them, he durst not pursue his conquests, but returned home with his shattered fleet, and the remains of his army.

These

These successes did so little answer the loss of so many ships and men, that they served rather to incense, than satisfy *Darius*, and made him resolve to send force enough the next year to do the business effectually. He began now to declare himself obstinately bent upon the conquest of *Greece*; to which resolution many circumstances concurred. Ever since the burning of *Sardis*, he had vowed revenge upon the *Athenians*, and ordered one every time he sat down to table, to cry out, *Sir, Remember the Athenians*. He could much easier have pardoned the *Ionians*, though they were the principal aggressors, as not thinking they would have dared to attempt any thing against him, but at the instigation of those, whose ignorance, or contempt of his power might encourage them to provoke him. As for the islanders, they had furnished out a great number of ships against him: And the pretence of making it a national quarrel, was, that they had all in general given his rebels free harbour. To add to which *Hippias* was always at hand to aggravate these matters, that being the only means left him to recover his tyranny. Not but the business was likely enough to have proceeded without him. For the noise the principal states of *Greece* began now to make in the world, could not but alarm the *Persian* greatness: And *Darius* in the beginning of his reign seemed resolved to crush them, by sending several spies under the conduct

The more immediate grounds of the Persian war.

duct of *Democedes*, to take an exact survey of the country.

In order therefore to this intended invasion, he first tried how the several cities stood affected, sending to them all to demand *earth* and *water*; but at the same time gave orders to the cities upon the sea-coasts to build long ships, and flat-bottomed boats, for the transportation of horse. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* threw the messengers into deep pits, telling them, *There was earth and water to carry to their master.* He who advised this, was said to be *Miltiades*; who besides his being an *Athenian*, had a personal pique against the *Persians*, for forcing him from his government of the *Chersonese*, when they had invaded the *Thracian* territories. The *Æginetans* with some other islands complied; and were thereupon accused by the *Athenians*, as having betrayed the liberty of their country, only for an opportunity of fighting them to advantage. The matter was heard, and resented at *Sparta*; and *Cleomenes* went immediately to *Ægina* to punish the heads of the revolt; But he had at that time a difference with his colleague *Demaratus*, who under-hand defeated his designs. *Cleomenes* to be revenged of him, at his return used his utmost efforts to get him deposed; and the pretence was his being illegitimate. It seems *Ariston* the father of *Demaratus*, having no children by two wives, took a third, who
was

Some commotions at Sparta.

was already married to one of his friends, which was allowable according to *Lycurgus's* laws; and having this son by her in seven months after marriage, he swore it was none of his. But for fear the line of *Procles* should fail, the state took no notice of it, and he owned the child, leaving him successor to his crown and virtues, he being noted as the first *Spartan* King, who conquered in the *Olympick* games. But upon this contest between the two Kings, the old business of bastardy was trumped up, and the oracle was to decide it. The *Pythia* being corrupted by *Cleomenes*, gave it against *Demaratus*: So that this, and his former retreat out of *Attica*, which was the grounds of the quarrel, being objected against him, he was dethroned, and succeeded by his kinsman *Leutychides*. *Demaratus*, though he expressed a love for his country, went over to the *Persian*; by whom he was easily received at this juncture, and entertained with all the honour due to his character. As for *Cleomenes*, he was soon after detected; and being struck with remorse for the injustice he had done his colleague, in a fit of a phrenzy ripped up his own belly. Nor did it fare much better with *Leutychides*, who afterwards proved a traitor to his country, and being convicted of bribery, died in exile.

But he, with *Cleomenes*, had first taken ten of the principal men of *Ægina*, and left them as
hostages

The war
with
Ægina.

hostages at *Athens*. Which the *Æginetans* having often complained of, and received no redress, intercepted a ship going to *Delos*, (according to a yearly custom observed ever since *Theseus's* time) and in it some of the principal men of *Athens*, whom, by way of reprisal, they made prisoners. Which so incensed the *Athenians*, that they manned out seventy galleys, and agreed at the same time to have the city of *Ægina* betrayed to them: But the fleet coming too late to second the attempt by land, that design miscarried. However the fleets engaged, and the *Æginetans* were worsted: But being reinforced, they ventured another battle, and got the better. This war seems to have been of a longer continuance, though we have very little light into the particulars: But we may observe in general, that these civil discords, which seemed to favour the designs of the common enemy, did in a great measure procure the safety of *Greece*, by putting the *Athenians* upon the study of sea-affairs, and by that means preparing them for the *Persian*. So that they easily wrested the sovereignty of the seas from the islanders, and particularly the *Æginetans* who had held it twenty years; and that at a time, when the eyes and hopes of all *Greece* were upon them, and when they could have done very little without it.

Whilst the *Athenians* were engaged in this war, *Darius* prosecuted his designs upon *Greece*:

And having levied an army of an hundred thousand foot according to the lowest computation, (for *Justin* reckons six times as many) and ten thousand horse, gave the chief command to *Datis a Mede*, in the room of *Mardonius*, under whom the fleet had miscarried, appointed *Artaphernes* his brother's son, and *Hippias* as his assistants, and giving them an express command to bring the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* prisoners to him, and to lay waste their country. Accordingly they embarked in six hundred gallies, besides transports for the horse: And directly crossing the *Ægean* sea, possessed themselves of *Samos*, *Naxos*, *Delos*, and the rest of the *Cyclades*, to secure their passage. From thence they sailed to *Eubœa*; where the *Eretrians*, though the *Athenians* had lent them four thousand men, thought it more adviseable to send them home, and keep within their walls, than to offer battle to such unequal numbers. For six days the *Persians* attempted to storm the city, and were repulsed with loss; but on the seventh it being betrayed into their Hands, they entered, plundered and burnt it. From thence *Hippias* conducted them into *Attica*; and they encamped in the plains of *Marathon* ten miles distant from *Athens*. The *Athenians* having notice of their march, and being sensible of the disproportion, dispatched messengers to *Sparta* for their speedy assistance; and in the mean time chose ten of their citizens to command their forces, one out
of

Eretria
taken.

*The battle
of Mara-
thon.*

A. M.

3514.

Olym. 72.

3.

of each *Tribe*. The *Lacedæmonians* seemed very willing to assist them ; but being to be detained four days upon a religious account, it was debated among the *Athenians*, *Whether they should wait for a summons from the enemy, as the Ere- tians did, within their walls, or go out to meet them.* *Miltiades* earnestly pressed the latter, and with much difficulty prevailed. Accordingly they took the field with only nine thousand of their own men, and one thousand *Platæans*. Each captain assigned his day of command to *Miltiades*, who had by this means the whole management of the battle; however he chose to put the issue of it upon his own day. He was sensible, that he had not a sufficient number of men to enlarge his front in any proportion to that of the enemy, nor to give it any considerable depth ; and therefore drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, so as to prevent its being surrounded. And though he was weak in the center, he made his wings very strong, and fenced them in with large trees, which he had ordered to be cut down, to hinder the *Persian* cavalry from breaking in, and flanking them.

Datis, notwithstanding this disposition, relied so much upon his numbers, that he resolved to engage ; and he chose the rather to do it, before the reinforcement, which was expected from *Sparta*, could come up. The signal was no sooner given, but the *Athenians*, instead of waiting the onset of the *Persians*, rushed in upon them

them with such fury and precipitation, that they thought they were rather to be laughed at as madmen, than dreaded as enemies. But considering their *All* was at stake, and that they had nothing for it, but making their way through the enemy, despair added to their natural courage, and they held the victory long in suspense. The *Persians* made their strongest efforts against the main body of the *Grecians*, which stood the charge with great firmness and intrepidity, until being oppressed by numbers, they were forced at last to give way. But at the same time both the *Athenian* wings prevailed, which gave them an opportunity of relieving the rest: And they did so effectually, that they soon turned the fortune of the day, and gained a victory, which had more of truth in it, than probability. The *Persians* being disordered and routed, abandoned their camp, and made to the sea; and the *Grecians* pursued them to their very ships, some of which they took, and some they burnt. And here I must not omit the account that is given of *Cynægirus*, who, after he had fought with great bravery in the field, held a gally full of *Persians* with his right hand, to keep it from putting off from shore; which was no sooner lopped off, but he seized it with his left, and having lost that too, he fixed his teeth in it, and expired. As to the number of the slain, *Herodotus* reckons six thousand four hundred *Persians*, and but
one

but one hundred and ninety-two of the *Grecians*; among whom were few officers of note but *Callimachus*, who commanded one of the wings, and deserves to be particularly remembered, not only for his behaviour in the battle, but also for the share he had in the bringing it on. For though he was not one of the *ten Generals*, who had the alternate command of the army; yet by virtue of his office of *Polemarch*, he had a right of voting with them, when they were equally divided in opinion, as it happened in the council of war, which was held before the battle; and he gave the casting voice, which determined their going out to meet the enemy in the field. *Hippias* who was the chief incendiary of the war, is thought to have fell in this battle; though *Suidas* says, he escaped, and died miserably at *Lemnos*.

The news of this victory was carried to *Athens* by one *Eucles*, who ran with his wounds reeking from the fight, and throwing himself into the door of the first house he met with, cried, *Rejoice, we are triumphant*; and immediately expired.

Two thousand of the *Spartans* (whose laws would not permit them to stir until the full of the moon) came at last into the field: but the action being over the day before, they served only to extol the bravery of their countrymen, and to congratulate them upon their success. Among those who distinguished themselves upon
this

this occasion, were *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, who commanded in the center, where the troops were thinnest, and where the enemy pressed hardest: So that their supporting themselves so well as they did under those circumstances, was a sufficient argument of their merit, and an early promise of what was further to be expected from them. But the chief honour of the day was justly ascribed to the valour and conduct of *Miltiades*; whose reward, when he returned to *Athens*, was only to have the battle of *Marathon* represented in a picture, with himself giving his orders at the head of the *Ten Captains*. This picture was preserved many ages, with other paintings of the best masters, in the *Gallery*, or *Portico*, where *Zeno* afterwards instituted his *school of philosophy*. Another monument of this action, was a statue made by *Phidias* of the Goddess *Nemesis*, who had a temple near the field of battle: And a very remarkable circumstance of it, was, that it was cut out of a piece of marble, which the *Persians*, in confidence of their gaining the victory, had brought with them for erecting a trophy.

After the battle, there was an attempt made by the *Persian* fleet to surprise the city of *Athens*, before the forces could arrive from *Marathon*: But the greatest part of them got in time enough for its defence, by which means this design likewise miscarried. Thereupon

the *Persians* retired into *Asia*, having nothing to cover their disgrace, but their prisoners whom they took in *Eretria*. These were presented to *Darius* at *Susa*, and settled near the *Tigris* upon much better terms than they could expect: So that they, with their posterity, flourished in a body for several ages, and retained their language.

Theognis
Phocylides.

Anacreon

Notwithstanding the general consternation occasioned by this war, philosophy received daily improvement from the successors of *Thales* and *Pythagoras*. And poetry had still her votaries: Among whom were *Theognis* and *Phocylides*; whose writings were chiefly precepts and sentences of morality, which the latter of them is said to have stole from the writings of the *Sibyls*. About the same period died *Anacreon* of *Teos* in *Ionia*; a man of ease and pleasure, dividing all his hours betwixt wine, love, and poetry. He was so professed an enemy to the common business, and cares of life, that when *Polycrates* of *Samos*, with whom he was highly in favour, had made him a present of five talents, he could not sleep in two nights after: Upon which he carried back the treasure, and told his patron, *That however considerable the sum might be, it was not an equal price for the trouble of keeping it.* He wrote with the same unconcerned freedom and gaiety, that he lived; so that the best image of his manners is to be drawn from his poems; where we meet with
all

all the flowing easiness, and simplicity both of thought and expression, supported with the most lively, and delicate turns of wit and pleasantry. We may fancy his muse, like some of his mistresses, airy, loose, and negligent, not without the graceful touches of art, but without the appearance of it. He lived eighty-five years: And to make his end of a piece with his life, he is said to have been choaked with a grape-stone in his wine.

C H A P. II.

From the battle of *Marathon*, to the retreat of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*.

Containing the space of 10 years.

WHilst *Miltiades* was in full credit, and esteem for his late victory, the state decreed him seventy galleys well manned to chastise the islands, which had sided with the *Persian*. Several of them submitted; others he reduced with ease; but coming to *Paros* to demand an hundred talents, the inhabitants chose rather to prepare for a vigorous defence, than to hearken to any such proposals: Whereupon he landed his men, harassed the country, and blocked up the city. But, when the siege was well advanced, it happened, as *Nepos* tells the story, that a grove upon the continent by

Miltiades sent to chastise the islands.

some accident took fire ; which being seen from the island in the night, and both sides taking it for a signal, that the *Persian* fleet was coming to the relief of the *Parians*, *Miltiades* set fire to his works, and returned home. This was interpreted by his enemies, particularly *Xanthippus* the father of *Pericles*, as a voluntary miscarriage ; and he was accused of being in league with the *Persian*. He was not in a condition to answer this charge, being confined to his bed by a fall he received at *Paros*, which *Herodotus* makes the cause of his retreat. But his friends, who appeared for him, urged his many services to the state, and bad them particularly *remember Marathon* ; yet could they prevail no further, than to get the sentence of death changed into a fine of fifty talents, (which was the charge the state had been at in fitting out the gallies) and imprisonment, until it were paid. But whatever pretence the *Athenians* made use of in his condemnation, it is certain their fear swayed more with them, than his guilt. They thought him too well practised in government, to lead a private life, especially after his merit had gained him such a power and interest, as might be improved into the destruction of that liberty, he pretended to support. But this was not easily to be presumed of one ; who had always carried himself with humility, justice, and moderation : Nor could any thing less than an actual attempt upon their

His character,

their liberty, justify the persecution of a man, to whom they owed their lives and fortunes, and, in a great measure, all their future glory. For he first encouraged them to look the *Persian* in the face; and convinced them by his example, that numbers are not proof against courage and discipline. He lay some time under this sentence, until the bruise of his thigh growing worse, turned to a Gangrene, and killed him. After which the *Athenians* carried their *and death.* resentment so far, that they would not suffer him to be buried, until his son *Cimon* took the debt upon himself. Thus fell *Miltiades* a sacrifice to the groundless jealousy of the people; a notorious instance of the capriciousness of fortune, and his country's ingratitude.

The success at *Marathon* gave some years respite to *Greece*: but so animated *Darius* to redeem his honour by a second attempt, that he ordered new levies to be made, and spent three years in his preparations. After which *Ægypt* happening to revolt, and there being the next year a contest among his sons at home about the nominating his successor, his thoughts were diverted from proceeding against *Greece* with that vigour he intended. When at last *The death of Darius.* he came to a resolution, and was provided for both expeditions against *Greece* and *Ægypt*, he died, leaving the prosecution of his designs to his son *Xerxes*.

A. M.

3519.

Olymp.

73. 4.

Mardonius, upon his first accession to the throne, pressed him earnestly to the *European* war, backing his arguments with the certainty of success. However this might fix his ambition, he thought it of more immediate consequence to reduce *Ægypt*; which with the forces his father left him, he easily compassed: And having committed it to the government of his brother *Achæmenes*, turned his thoughts upon *Greece*. In a council held for the management of this war, he opened his intentions with a speech full of arrogance and contempt. But his uncle *Artabanus* presuming upon his age and experience, was so far from soothing his vanity, that he used his utmost endeavours to dissuade him from so hazardous an enterprise. From general reflections on the instability of fortune, and the uncertainty of all human events, he descended to the particulars of his father's reign, alledging that *To whatever cause his ill success in Scythia might be imputed; yet the business of Marathon had given them too fresh and fatal an instance of the Grecian bravery, to look upon them as a despicable people: That he ought therefore to be well advised in an affair of such moment, that so he might at least justify his conduct, though he could not warrant the success.* *Xerxes* told him, *His advice was nothing but the result of sloth and cowardice; and that his punishment should be to stay at home, and not share in the glory of that expedition.* But
upon

upon cooler thoughts, he seemed better reconciled to his uncle's opinion; and his ambition being tempered with more pride than courage, kept him wavering, until at last being terrified with dreams and apparitions, or rather egged on by the sons of *Hippias* and others, who had their several interests to promote by this war, he resumed his first resolution.

Accordingly he sent to all the sea-coasts to provide him shipping; and in the mean time drained his whole dominions, with all other countries, that had the least dependence on him, to raise an army suitable to the vastness of his design; which in four years he at last completed. The horse were commanded by the sons of *Datis*; and a select body of ten thousand foot by *Hydarnes*. This was called the *immortal regiment*, because it was constantly kept up, and supplied out of the rest. But the gross of the army was committed to *Mardonius*, who having the princes of the blood joined with him as assistants, commanded in chief. The first general rendezvous of the land-forces was at *Critalæ*; from whence passing the river *Halys*, they marched to *Celænæ* a city of *Phrygia*, and wintered at *Sardis*. *Xerxes*, during his stay here, sent into *Greece* to demand *earth* and *water*; and the fleet being come up to the *Chersonese*, he ordered a passage of a mile and an half long to be cut for it behind mount *Athos*, to avoid the danger of shipwreck, which

*Xerxes his
prepara-
tions.*

His march.

Mardonius before had suffered by failing about. In the beginning of the spring, he quitted *Sardis*; and from an eminence which he had raised in the plains of *Abydus*, took a view of his whole force by sea and land: Where he could not forbear testifying his pride and joy to see himself lord of so many united nations; but soon after fell into the other extremes of passion, and could not without tears reflect, *That not one of so many thousand would be alive an hundred years after.* This engaged him in a melancholy discourse with *Artabanus* about the shortness and miseries of life; who from thence took occasion to insinuate his doubts, as he did before, about the success of this enterprise. He urged the many inconveniencies he had to suffer, if not from the enemy, at least from the elements themselves; that his having no port there sufficient to shelter such a fleet upon any accident, might prove very destructive to his shipping; and that plague, famine, and confusion were the necessary attendants of such ungovernable multitudes by land. *Xerxes* told him in answer, *That great actions were necessarily attended with some proportionable danger; and that it was impossible to provide for accidents.* So that whatever opinion he had of his uncle's wisdom in other matters, he thought it too deliberate for the camp, and sent him back as his vice-roy to *Susa*. Among other marks of his presuming upon the success

cess of his expedition, at *Abydus* he saw some ships, which came from the *Euxine sea*, and were sailing through the *Hellespont*; and being informed, that they were laden with corn, and bound to *Ægina*, and to *Peloponnesus*, he would not suffer them to be seized. *Are not we also*, said he, *going to the same place? And are not we obliged, among other things, to carry corn with us? What harm then can they do us, by carrying corn thither, which must be ours?*

In order to his passage into *Europe*, he had laid a bridge cross the *Hellespont*, where it was about a mile over; which being broke down by tempestuous weather, he cut off the heads of the workmen, ordered the sea itself to be whipped, as though it had rebelled against its sovereign, and cast a pair of fetters into it, in token of its future subjection. After which, he made two bridges of gallies tied together, and so well anchored, that they resisted the winds; by which means, the whole Army passed over in seven days and nights. This seems to have been the first instance of that which afterwards became the common method of *Cæsar* and others, to transport their armies. *Xerxes* being got into *Europe*, ordered the fleet to sail on westward, and marched himself with the land forces through the *Chersonese*, gathering still more as he went; and encamped in a vast plain near *Doriscus*, and well watered with the river *Hebrus*, where he mustered, and

num-

His passage into Europe.

*An account
of his
forces.*

numbered his whole army. But as historians differ in nothing more than the accounts of armies, so here we may with more ease collect from several circumstances of their preparations, and march, that they were the greatest army that ever appeared in the field, than assign any just number. According to the most modest computation, they amounted to at least seven hundred thousand men. *Herodotus* reckons up seventeen hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand horse; and makes an accession of about three hundred thousand in their march. To these he adds above five hundred thousand belonging to the fleet, which consisted of somewhat above twelve hundred long gallies, besides three thousand transports, and ships of burden. So that the whole of the *Asian* and *European* forces by sea and land, he reckons at above two millions and a half; and allows at least an equal number of women, eunuchs, slaves and other attendants. This will easily account for *Plutarch*, and *Isocrates*, when they say five millions followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*; and thus it might be affirmed without an *Hyperbole*, that they drank up several little rivers in their march.

*The Gre-
cian pre-
parations.*

Greece in the mean while was sufficiently alarmed at these approaches, but not so as to abandon all hopes of diverting the storm. *Demaratus* the late *Spartan* King, who seems to have acted on both sides, had from time to time given

given his countrymen notice of *Xerxes's* designs and motions: And upon his passage into *Europe*, they summoned a general council in the *Isthmus*; where they solemnly resolved to wave all private quarrels, and join in the defence of their common liberty, at the same time publishing their intentions, of putting to death every tenth man of those, who went over to the enemy. But this did not hinder the greatest part of *Bæotia*, and *Thessaly*, with other petty states, which lay most exposed, from declaring for the *Persian*; especially after the ten thousand men, who were sent into *Thessaly* under the conduct of *Euænetus* the *Spartan*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, were returned, as not thinking themselves able to protect them. The *Argives* also being sent to in this extremity, evaded their assistance, by insisting on terms, which could not be accepted: So that partly out of fear, and partly out of their inveterate hatred to the *Lacedæmonians*, they held secret intelligence with the enemy, Thus the burden of the war lay chiefly upon the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*; who, when they found the *Persian* advanced through *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, resolved in another council to oppose his progress; and accordingly, dispatched six thousand men under the command of *Leonidas* the famous *Spartan* King, to possess the streights of *Thermopylæ*, a narrow pass of twenty-five foot wide between the mountains, which divided

Thessaly

Thessaly from the rest of *Greece*. There were in it the remains of a wall with gates to it, which the *Phocians* had formerly built to secure them against the incursions of the *Thessalians*: And from these gates, and some *hot baths*, which were at the entrance into the *pass*, it obtained the name of *Thermopylae*. This was pitched upon as the most proper place for defeating the advantage of the enemy's numbers, and for rendering their horse useless: And a further consideration with the *Grecians*, was its situation near the sea, where they could co-operate with their fleet. In this body of six thousand men there were but three hundred *Spartans*; the rest consisting of *Bæotians*, *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Arcadians*, and several other lesser states, both within and without the *Isthmus*, who each of them furnished such proportions, as they were able to raise in the present exigency; and each of them assigned particular captains to their own troops; but *Leonidas* had the command of the whole.

As to sea affairs, there was the same disproportion as by land: Whereupon they had recourse to the islanders, most of which were their allies and colonies. *Sicily* was at that time able to furnish out as many ships as all *Greece*: But her tyrant *Gelon* insisted upon being declared commander in chief. As for *Crete*, she had her oracles first to consult: And the *Corcyraeans*, though they expressed a sense of their

their common danger, and hovered about with sixty sail, it was only with a design to fall in with the conqueror. So that the chief dependence at sea was upon *Athens*; whose late war with *Ægina* had put those two states in a condition of defending the rest. This genius for sea affairs was very opportunely improved by *Themistocles*, who, from a mean extraction, became so active and aspiring, as to complain at his first appearance in the world, *That the trophies of Miltiades would not let him sleep.* He had boldness enough to propose, and courage enough to execute any thing, that might tend to his own, and his country's honour. For an instance of which, he got the money, which was raised from the mines, and ought to have been divided among the people, to be employed in shipping: And so, by the *wooden walls*, which the oracle advised the *Athenians* to trust to, he would have nothing understood, but their ships. By these means, the *Athenian* fleet was increased to near two hundred sail; and putting to sea with the rest of the confederates, making in all two hundred and eighty, stood over against *Artemisium*, towards the north part of *Æubœa*.

Xerxes in the mean while drew down his numerous forces towards the streights of *Thermopylæ*, but rather for terror, and ostentation, than with thoughts of fighting. For finding *Leonidas* ready to receive him, and his men

un-

unusually gay, and unconcerned, he sent to let them know, that *If they would lay down their arms, he would receive them as friends, and confederates, and bestow upon them much richer and larger countries, than what they now possessed.* They rejected his offers with a becoming scorn, telling him, *They should have occasion for their arms, whether as his friends, or enemies; that they desired no country, but what they won by their virtue and valour, and could maintain by the same methods they got it.* Upon this the Persian addressed himself to Demaratus, asking him with an air of pity, and contempt, *What it was his countrymen proposed? Or, whether they could run faster than his horses?* He told him, *He would find them resolved to fight it out to the last; and that not a man of them would survive his country's liberty.* Agreeable to this was the answer of Dieneces a Spartan; who being told, *That the Persian darts would darken the very sun; So much the better,* says he; *for then we shall fight in the shade.*

Xerxes at last advanced with a body of Medes, ordering those, who had lost any of their relations at the battle of *Marathon*, to beat the enemy from this post, and revenge their dead friends. Accordingly they began the onset, but were repulsed with great loss. Then mighty numbers of raw undisciplined fellows marched against them, of whom a prodigious slaughter was made: Nor did the *immortal regiment*, which

*The battle
at Ther-
mopylæ.*

A. M.

3524.

Olym. 75.

I.

which was sent to relieve them, come off at a cheaper rate. The next day *Xerxes* made a detachment of the choicest of his troops, with a promise of large rewards, if they would break in upon them, and force the pass. Upon which they made a violent charge, but with no better success than before: For the *Grecians* collected into a close body stood the shock, and filled the way with *Persian* carcases: So that being driven one upon the other, the confusion, and consequently the slaughter was the greater. Thus did they keep their ground for two days; on the first of which, *Xerxes* was observed to leap three times from his throne, whereon he was placed to see the battle: And being the next day under the same consternation, it happened that *Ephialtes* a *Trachinian*, deserted from the *Grecians*, to shew him a secret way over a ledge of mountains, by which he might fall upon their rear. *Leonidas* being informed that twenty thousand of the enemy had lodged themselves on the top of the hills, advised his companions to retire, and reserve themselves for better times, and the future safety of Greece; that for his own part, he owed more to his country, than to himself, and that it was his business to fall in the present defence of it. Thus having dismissed all but three hundred *Spartans*, with some *Thespians*, and *Thebans*, in all not a thousand men, Come, fellow-soldiers, says he to them, Let us dine cheerfully, as if we were to sup together in the
other

other world. And indeed they could propose nothing more than to fulfil the oracle, which had declared the city, or King of *Sparta* must fall; at the same time to let the *Persian* see, what value they set upon their liberty, and, as it were, to revenge their own deaths, before they fell. Being thus animated, they studied only how to sell their lives as dear as they could; and thinking death to be no where more honourably met with, than in the enemies' camp, they took the advantage of the night, and made directly to the royal pavilion, where endeavouring to surprize the King, they broke through the whole camp, and killed, or overthrew whatever opposed them. The darkness of the night added very much to the confusion of the enemy, insomuch that they fell one upon another without distinction of friend, or foe, and rather assisted the *Grecians*, than defended themselves. Thus did they carry all before them, until day-light discovering the smallness of their numbers, they were surrounded by the *Persians*, who galled them both in flank and rear; and even then not so much conquered, as tired with conquering, they fell among vast heaps of the slaughtered enemy, leaving behind them the example of an intrepidity never known before. It is generally understood, that these three hundred *Spartans* were killed to a man: But two of them, whose names are *Aristodemus* and *Panites*, went off before the action,

action upon frivolous pretences. The former, upon his return to *Sparta*, was branded with infamy, and treated with such contempt, that no body would converse, or have any thing to do with him. However he afterwards behaved so well at the battle of *Platæa*, that he redeemed his credit. As for *Panites*, he was so sensible of the scorn and reproach of his fellow-citizens, that he killed himself. The body of *Leonidas* was found, and nailed to a cross; but his memory was sufficiently eternized by the poets, and historians of those times, who thought this might easily pass for a victory on the *Grecians* side, as well in respect to the action itself, wherein the *Persians* lost twenty thousand men, as to the influence it afterwards had on the affairs of *Greece*. And in this respect, *Herodotus* says, *This defeat of the Spartans was more glorious, than any victory, that the Grecians afterwards obtained.*

Xerxes, though he had cleared this passage, was more inclined to try his fortune at sea, than to proceed immediately into the country; especially when *Demaratus* told him, *That Sparta alone was able to send out near eight thousand more such men, as those whose valour he had so lately experienced.* The *Persian* fleet was come up to *Sepias*, a promontory of *Magnesia*, to act in concert with the land forces; where by a storm, which lasted three days, they had lost four hundred men of war, besides transports and ships of

VOL. I. R burden,

*The sea-
fight at
Artemi-
sum.*

burden with a proportionable number of men, and provisions. To repair which loss, they ordered two hundred more to take a compass, and surprize the *Grecians* lying in the streights of *Eubœa*; which was the same stratagem the army made use of at *Thermopylæ*, and much about the same time, but with far different success. For the *Grecians*, by the advice of *Themistocles*, set sail by night; and so by a counter-surprize fell in with them, took and sunk thirty, and forced the rest to sea, where by stress of weather they were all sunk and stranded. Enraged at these disappointments, they bore down the next day with their whole fleet, and drawing up in the form of an halfmoon, made an offer of battle, which the *Grecians* readily accepted; and by the singular valour of the *Athenians*, who were just re-inforced with three and fifty sail, maintained the conflict with equal loss on both sides, until night forced them into harbour. But they were so shattered in the engagement, that they were forced to quit this station in order to refit; and especially hearing that *Leonidas* was cut off at *Thermopylæ*, they thought it necessary to retire further into *Greece*.

Whereupon the *Persians* coming up with their fleet to *Artemisium*, invaded *Eubœa*, and the neighbouring coasts. *Xerxes* at the same time marched through *Doris* and *Phocis*, harassing the country, and laying all waste before him; and

and leaving a detachment to rife the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, he encamped with the reft in *Bæotia*. When the *Athenians* found him advancing towards *Attica*, they would have engaged their confederates to make head againft him: But they declined it, as giving all for loft without the *Isthmus*, and placing their only confidence in the defence of *Peloponnesus*. The *Athenians* thus abandoned, put on board their wives and children, with their moft valuable goods, and transported them to *Træzene*, *Ægina*, and *Salamis*. After which, *Xerxes* invaded *Attica* with fire and fword, and entered *Athens* three months after his paffage into *Europe*. Thofe few inhabitants who were left, retired into the citadel, where literally interpreting the oracle, of the *wooden walls*, they fortified it as well as they could, with boards and palifadoes; and having ftood the firft affault, were fo confident of fuccefs, that, rather than yield to any terms, they fuffered themfelves to be put to the fword, the caftle taken, and the temple of *Minerva* in it to be burnt.

Xerxes
enters
Athens.

In this exigency a council was summoned, wherein after every one had propofed what his fear and intereft fuggested, it was refolved to defend the *Isthmus* by fea and land. The defign of which was chiefly to fecure *Laconia*, and therefore eafily affented to by *Eurybiades* the *Spartan*, who, notwithstanding the fignal fervices of the *Athenians*, was appointed Ad-

R 2

miral

miral of the *Grecian* navy. For as *Athens* was forced to yield to *Sparta* upon other accounts, so neither did she think this a time to dispute the command at sea. The land forces were commanded by *Cleombrotus* one of the *Spartan* Kings, and brother of *Leonidas*. But when *Themistocles* found the *Grecian* fleet withdrawing from *Salamis*, he opposed it with so much heat, that *Eurybiades* made an offer of striking him. Strike if you will, says he, but hear what I say. He then told them, Their chief dependence must be upon their skipping; that they were now in possession of the narrow seas, which would sufficiently perplex the enemy; and that the improving that advantage, was of the last consequence to their affairs. Against this it was objected, that the Athenians were not upon an equal foot with the Peloponnesians, whose cities and possessions were yet untouched: This was insisted on more particularly by *Adimantus* chief of the *Corinthians*, who interrupted *Themistocles* in his discourse, and went so far as to bid him hold his tongue; telling him, That they, who had abandoned their lands to the enemy, were not likely, by their advice, to contribute towards the preservation of the rest of Greece: That he ought not so much as to vote in the present deliberations, which were of the last importance to the public; and that until such time as the affairs of *Athens* were re-established, he should be ashamed to open his mouth. *Themistocles* was provoked at this manner of up-

upbraiding him with the calamities of his country; and urging several things by way of reproach and invective against the *Corinthians* and their captain, told them, *The Athenians had still a city left, and that the best in all Greece, consisting of two hundred ships, which would serve either to re-instate them at home, or transport them to some flourishing colony abroad.* Then addressing himself to *Eurybiades*, he gave him plainly to understand, *That Athens was stronger at sea than all the other powers together; and that unless he would come into his opinion, and bring over the rest of the confederates to it, They the Athenians would quit the alliance, and leave those who had deserted them first, to the fury of the enemy.* The fear of losing an ally, who was the chief support of the war, had the effect he proposed: The Generals submitted to his reasons, and were reconciled to each other; and the result of the council was, that they should prepare jointly to receive the *Persian* in the *Isthmus* by land, and in the straits of *Salamis* by sea.

Xerxes in the mean while marched down towards the sea to act in conjunction with his fleet, which was come to *Phalerus* the *Athenian* port: And whilst he was concerting measures with his officers, the *Grecians* hearts again failed them; and thinking it downright madness to throw up one country, in hopes of recovering another, that was intirely lost, they

weighed anchor, in order to make directly to the *Isthmus*. *Themistocles* finding no arguments would prevail, had recourse to stratagem; and dispatched *Sicinus* a *Persian* captive, and therefore the less suspected, to *Xerxes*, to tell him from the *Athenian* Admiral, who secretly espoused his interest, *That the Grecians were preparing for flight; and that if he set upon them in this confusion, before they were dispersed, or joined by their land-army, he might at once destroy the whole fleet.* This bait was easily swallowed; and two hundred ships were immediately sent out to block up the streights and passages, until the rest of the fleet could come up. It happened at this juncture, that *Aristides* the *Athenian*, with great difficulty arrived at *Salamis* from *Ægina*, and brought advice, *That the Persians were at that time actually hemming in the Grecian fleet, and that there was no way left, but to fight it out.* The reputation he had gained at *Marathon*, with his many other eminent virtues, had cast too great a shade upon the rising glory of *Themistocles*. From hence sprung an emulation betwixt them, which was daily increased by the difference of their tempers. For *Aristides* was grave, constant, sedate, mild, open, sincere, and generous, and was particularly distinguished by the name of *Just*; whereas the other wanted most of these good qualities; but was subtle, enterprising and popular; and being naturally cut

cut out for transplanting his rival, he formed a party, which banished him by the *Ostracism*. And so great was the power of faction, and the fear of tyranny, at his condemnation, that as they were giving in their suffrages, an illiterate fellow comes to *Aristides* with his shell, and desires him to write *Aristides* upon it. He asked him, *If Aristides had ever done him any injury?* Not in the least, says he; neither do I know the man; but I am concerned to hear, that he goes every where by the name of Just. *Aristides* made him no answer, but returned his shell with the inscription of his own name. And at his departure from the city, he only prayed, *That the time might never come, when Athens should have cause to remember him.* After three years exile he was recalled for fear of his joining with the *Persian* upon the invasion of *Attica*. But he was so far from it, that before the decree was passed for his return, he used all possible means to encourage his countrymen in the defence of their liberty; and afterwards gave an undoubted proof of his zeal, by contributing towards the advancement of his greatest enemy, *Themistocles*, at least so far as it conduced to the common security. This generous conduct of his gained too much upon *Themistocles*, to let any thing of passion, or reserve interfere with the public: So that he let him into all his designs and projects, particularly this last of suffering

himself to be surrounded. After which they used their joint-authority with the other commanders to engage them to stay : Yet did they not perfectly assent, until a galley of *Tenedos*, which had deserted from the *Persians*, came, and confirmed all that *Aristides* had told them. when finding no way to escape, but what they must make through the enemy, they prepared for the fight.

*The fight
at Salamis .*

They had increased their fleet to three hundred and eighty sail, besides tenders, and other vessels, though it yet bore no proportion to that of the *Persians*; who having repaired the damages they sustained by shipwreck, and otherwise, were in as good a condition as at the first. *Xerxes* from an eminence on shore, where he was placed with his secretaries about him, to write down the particulars of the action, gave the signal to *Ariamenes* the *Persian* Admiral : And *Themistocles* having animated the *Grecians* for the defence of all that was dear to them, loosed from *Salamis* with great resolution to meet him. The *Phœnicians*, in whom the enemy confided most, were opposed to the *Athenians* : And their whole fleet being drawn up distinctly according to their several nations, kept their stations very well in the open seas ; but when they began to enter the streights, they gave the *Grecians* an opportunity of exerting their skill and discipline, without being able to use the only advantage they had in their numbers.

numbers. The Admiral, who led the van, fell in with great fury, but was sunk at the first charge; which created such a terror and confusion, that they immediately tacked, and made to sea; but were fiercely pursued by the *Grecians*, who took some, and disabled others, by brushing off their oars, and striking them through with the beaks of their vessels. To add to which, the *Ionians*, with whom *Themistocles* had been tampering before the engagement, took this occasion to draw off from the line of battle. In the other wing the contest was vigorous on both sides, and for some time doubtful, until the *Phœnicians* and *Cyprians* being driven on shore, the *Athenians* made head upon the rest, who being not able to bear the shock, retired in so great disorder, that they fell foul one of another. Those who kept the sea, were pursued, and worsted by the *Athenians*, whilst the *Æginetans*, who had possessed the Straights of *Attica*, intercepted others, as they were making to the port. By this means the *Grecians* obtained a great and glorious victory, having sunk above two hundred of the *Persian* gallies, besides what they took, and dispersed their whole fleet, with the loss of only forty of their own ships.

They who behaved best on the side of the *Persians*, were *Theomestor* and *Phytaces*, two famous captains of *Samos*, and *Artemisia* Queen of *Halicarnassus*, who had armed out five stout ships.

ships. This Princess had assisted at the council of war, wherein this engagement was resolved upon, and used very strong arguments with *Xerxes* to dissuade him from it. She told him, *How much superior the Grecians were in naval affairs; and how little he could depend on most of his auxiliaries: But that if he would content himself to lie by with his fleet upon the coast, and pursue the advantages he had already gained by land, he would soon oblige the Grecians to retire, and disperse themselves into their respective cities, and that they would thereby become an easy prey to him.* *Xerxes* paid great regard to her judgment; but as she was single in her opinion, it was carried against her for fighting at sea. However, when it came to action, she acquitted herself so well, and so much above the rest of the confederates, that *Xerxes* said, *The women fought like men, and the men like women.* She was become so troublesome to the *Grecians*, that they had set a price upon her head; and she was very near falling into their hands, being so hard pressed by one of their ships, that she had no prospect either of escaping, or defending herself. In this exigency she took a sudden turn of thought, to fall foul upon one of the ships of her own party, and attacked it with such fury, that she sunk it. This happening in the heat of the engagement, and when the line was broke, so that it was not easy to distinguish between friend and foe,

foe, the *Grecian*, who had her in chase, took her either for one of their own fleet, or one that had come over to them from the enemy, and accordingly sheered off. The ship that she sunk was commanded by *Damasthymes* Prince of the *Calyndensians*, who having formerly disoblinded her upon some dispute between them in the *Hellepont*, she the rather made use of this stratagem, as it served both to procure her safety, and at the same time to gratify her revenge. *Herodotus*, as being himself of *Halicarnassus*, is thought by some to have raised the merit of this Princess too high, and to have made her the heroine of his history, to do honour to his country.

Xerxes astonished at this overthrow, and not knowing what measures to take, *Mardonius* accosted him in this juncture, extenuated the loss, and laid the whole blame upon the cowardice of the *Auxiliaries*: But withal advised him to return speedily to his kingdom, lest the fame of his ill success, which generally represent things worse than they are, should occasion any commotions in his absence. He engaged, *If he would leave him three hundred thousand choice men, to subdue all Greece to his glory; or, if the event proved otherwise, that he would take it to himself, without any reflection upon his master's honour.* This advice was very well received by *Xerxes*, who thinking he had done enough to vindicate his honour in
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the taking of *Athens*, which was the chief pretence of the war, prepared to march home at the head of his army, leaving part of it with *Mardonius*, not so much out of hopes of reducing *Greece*, as for fear of being pursued. These were the resolutions in a council held just after the fight: And the night following the fleet set sail in great confusion from *Phalerus* towards the *Hellepont*; but was pursued by the *Grecians*, who losing sight of them, put in at *Andros* one of the *Cyclades*; where it was proposed to break down the bridge of ships, and hinder the passage of the land forces, in hopes of cutting them off, or forcing them to an advantageous peace. But *Eurybiades*, or, according to *Plutarch*, *Aristides* justly fearing, lest the enemy, if a retreat were denied him, might out of pure necessity turn valiant, and open a way with sword-in-hand into their country, since he could not have it upon easier terms into his own, represented to them, *That they were like to have enemies enough, without giving themselves the trouble of increasing them; and that rather than take away that bridge, they ought, if possible, to lay another for them.* *Themistocles* gave in to this advice, and sent to *Xerxes* by the same messenger he made use of at *Salamis*, and under the same colour of friendship, to let him know the *Grecians* design of intercepting his passage, if he did not secure it by a speedy retreat. He no sooner heard of
it

it, but leaving his captains to take care of the army, he hastened with a small retinue to the sea, which he reached forty-five days after the fight; and finding the bridge shattered by the winter-storms, he secured himself in a private boat. So strange and sudden was the reverse of fortune, that this haughty Monarch, whose army was a burden to the earth, skulked about without the attendance even of his domesticks; and he, who covered the ocean with his fleet, and pretended to shackle the winds and waves, was tossed about in a poor fishing-boat, until at last he arrived in *Asia*! The army, which was ordered to follow him, being harassed and fatigued with a continual march, famine came to complete their misery. This brought a pestilence along with it, as *Artabanus* had foretold; which made such a ravage among them, that they were attended by another army of beasts, and birds of prey, which seized them as they dropt; and those who survived this mortality, came to their King at *Sardis*.

Xerxes's
flight.



C H A P. III.

From the retreat of *Xerxes*, to the victories
of *Cimon* at the river *Eurymedon*.

Containing the space of 10 years.

THIS being the fate of these numerous forces, *Greece* had some little respite to provide for her future security, which had hitherto been almost wholly owing to *Themistocles*. And this was testified in the most solemn manner at the altar, where it being demanded of the officers, *Who had deserved best of his country?* Every one gave the first vote for himself, and the second for *Themistocles*. It was further confirmed by the *Lacedæmonians* carrying him with them to *Sparta*; where giving the rewards of valour to *Eurybiades*, and of wisdom and conduct to *Themistocles*, they crowned him with olive, gave him the precedence, presented him with a rich chariot, and conducted him with three hundred horse to the confines of their territories: Which extraordinary marks of esteem, and coming from so severe and jealous a state, made all *Greece* look upon him as the *common deliverer*. When afterwards he appeared at the *Olympick* games,
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the spectators were wholly taken up in extolling, gazing and pointing at him: Which touched him so sensibly, that he could not forbear discovering his transport to his friends, telling them, *That he that day reaped the fruit of all his labours.* Not that this general applause was without an allay of envy; particularly a *Seriphian* insinuated to him, *That he derived his honour more from the greatness and splendour of his country, than from his personal merit: You are in the right on't,* says *Themistocles*; *for I should never have been esteemed, if I had been of Seriphus, nor you, though you had been of Athens.* *Themistocles*, after the flight of *Xerxes*, spent some time in levying contributions of the islands, which had sided with the enemy. He told the *Andrians*, *He came attended with two powerful divinities, Persuasion and Necessity*; to which they answered, *They had two as powerful to oppose to them, Poverty and Impossibility*: Whereupon he blocked them up for some time, but finding them too well fortified, was forced to retire.

Mardonius in the mean while took up his winter-quarters in *Thessaly*, and the confines of *Macedonia*; where having picked up fifty thousand men, besides the three hundred thousand left him by *Xerxes*, he began to prosecute the war. But he had conceived such a dread of the *Athenians*, that he first endeavoured to take them off with promises not only of an honourable

able peace, but of the friendship of the King his master; engaging further to *rebuild their temples, to give them a vast sum of money, and constitute them Lords of all Greece.* The Lacedæmonians, alarmed at these offers, immediately dispatched their ambassadors to Athens, to tell them, *They hoped they had more justice and gratitude, than to desert those, who were engaged with the Persian purely upon their account; at least that they had more respect to the memory of their ancestors, than to prove instrumental in the enslaving those, whom they had so gloriously rescued.* And lest they should urge the necessity they were reduced to, as forcing them to a mean compliance, *That they should send their wives and children to be maintained at Sparta.* The answer the Athenians returned was, *That they forgave their enemies attempting to buy them off, since they had no notion of any thing more valuable than wealth; but could not so easily pardon the Lacedæmonians mercenary thoughts of them, who seemed to lay very little stress upon what they had done and suffered in defence of the common liberty, when they proposed to them to fight for bread.* After which, Aristides bringing back the ambassadors into the assembly, charged them to tell the Lacedæmonians in short, *That all the treasure in the world was not of that value with the people of Athens, as the liberty of Greece.* Then the Athenians directed their discourse to Alexander the Macedonian

nian King, who came from Mardonius; and pointing to the sun, *as long as that continues his course, so long, said they, shall the citizens of Athens wage war with the Persians for that country, which hath been wasted, and those temples, which have been prophaned, and burnt by them.* And when Alexander pressed them further, and would have interposed as a mediator, they thanked him for his good intentions, but cautioned him as a friend, not to attempt any thing more of that kind, for fear of being insulted by the people.

Mardonius, upon this peremptory answer, invaded Attica, and entered the city ten months after Xerxes had taken it, the inhabitants having again conveyed themselves to Salamis, and other neighbouring places, until they could be joined by their confederates. Thither he sent to them a second offer of the same conditions; which they were so far from accepting, that they stoned Lycidas a senator, the same whom Demosthenes calls Cysyllus, for only moving, that it might be taken into consideration; and his wife and children met with the same treatment from the women. Then they sent pressing instances to Sparta to hasten their supplies: But the Lacedaemonians being intent upon their old method of fortifying the Isthmus, put them off with dilatory excuses, until at last the Athenians told them plainly, *The little regard they expressed for the common interest, would obliged them to follow their*

Mardonius enters Athens.

example, and provide for themselves; and that their defence of the Isthmus would be very little security to Peloponnesus in general, if they, who were masters of the seas about it, should join with the enemy. These menaces had so good an effect, that when they sent next to the *Ephori*, to know their final resolution, they told the messengers, that five thousand men, attended with seven thousand of the *Helots*, were actually on their march towards *Attica*; and gave them leave to levy five thousand more in the *Spartan* territories, and follow them. These forces were joined at the *Isthmus* by the other *Peloponnesians*; which *Mardonius* having notice of, thought fit to retire into *Bæotia*, as being a more champain country. But before his departure, finding the *Athenians* would hearken to no terms, he set fire to their city, and burnt and demolished every thing that had escaped his master's fury. At *Eleusis* the *Athenians* from *Salamis*, with the other *Grecians*, came in: And the whole army being an hundred thousand (to which number *Herodotus* adds ten thousand) under the conduct of *Pausanias* the *Spartan*, the son of *Cleombrotus*, and protector during the minority of *Plistarchus* the son of *Leonidas*, followed *Mardonius* into *Bæotia*; whose forces lying extended along the banks of the river *Asopus*, the *Grecians* encamped over-against them at the foot of mount *Cythæron*. When they were drawing up their army in order of battle, the *Tegeans* raised a dispute with
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the *Athenians* upon the point of precedency. They made no difficulty of allowing the *Spartans* the command of the right wing, as they had constantly had it; but they insisted on the left for themselves, alledging, That what they, and their ancestors had done for the common cause, had given them a just title to it. The *Athenians* were so incensed at the starting this pretension, that they began to mutiny. Whereupon *Aristides* interposed in their behalf; and addressing himself to the *Spartans*, and the rest of the confederates, he said, *It is not now a time to dispute the merit of those services, which the Tegeans have so magnified. We shall content ourselves with telling you, that it is not the post which gives courage, or takes it away; and that whatever post you shall assign us, we will maintain it, and do our duty. We are come hither not to contend with our friends, but to fight with our enemies; not to boast of our ancestors, but to imitate them. This battle will distinguish the particular merit of each city, each commander, and each private soldier.* This speech determined the council of war in favour of the *Athenians*, who thereupon had the command of the left wing allotted to them.

This difficulty being got over, there happened another unlucky circumstance in the *Athenian* camp; where several of the best and richest families, who had wasted their fortunes in the war, and lost all their credit and authority in the city, entered into a conspiracy

to subvert the government; or, if they should not succeed that way, to betray their country to the *Persians*. *Aristides* got notice of their consultations; and their numbers increasing, he found it necessary to make a public inquiry into the affair; and yet considering the present critical conjuncture, he was afraid of going too far. Wherefore he caused only eight of them to be apprehended, and two of those eight, as being more deeply concerned, to be proceeded against; and yet these two were suffered to make their escape during the prosecution; which was thought to have been done with the privity of *Aristides*; and the rather because he discharged the rest, as if nothing had been found against them. He only told them, *That the battle would be the tribunal, where they might justify themselves, and make it appear, that they had never entered into any counsels, but what were just and useful to their country.* By this prudent act of diffimulation, he gave them an opportunity of repenting, and prevented a general commotion among the troops. *He thought it advisable, says Plutarch, to sacrifice justice, in some measure, to the public good.*

The *Grecians* were advantageously posted in strong and rocky places, all but three thousand *Megareans*, who lying more exposed in the plains, *Mardonius* sent a great detachment of horse against them; which broke in, and galled them so on all sides, that they were forced to send to *Pausanias* to relieve them. Which not being readily

readily undertaken, *Aristides*, who commanded the *Athenian* troops, sent three hundred of his men to their assistance. They stood the charge with great bravery, and closing with the enemy, killed *Masistius* General of the *Persian* horse: Upon which greater numbers engaged on both sides, until the *Grecians*, without any considerable loss, carried off the body in triumph.

Masistius
General of
the *Persian*
horse
killed.

After this *Pausanias* removed his camp, and advanced to *Platæa*; where the two armies faced each other, with only a slight skirmish now and then with the *Persian* horse, for eleven days together. The reason of which was, that it had been foretold to both parties, *That they should be victorious, if they stood only upon the defensive part.* But *Mardonius* finding his provisions fail, resolved to attack them the next morning: Which *Pausanias* being informed of, drew up his army, placing the *Athenians* in the right wing opposite to the *Persians*, as being better acquainted with their way of fighting, and flushed with their late victories, and his *Spartans* in the left, opposite to the *Grecians* who sided with the enemy. Which *Mardonius* perceiving immediately marched over his *Persians* to the right; and when *Pausanias* wheeling about again, ranged himself as at the first, the other, still to prevent him, did the like; so that by changing the order of the battle, the day passed without action. The *Grecians* supposing things would not presently be brought to an issue, thought

*The battle
of Plataea.*

A. M.

3525.

Olym. 75.
2.

Mardonius
killed.

it necessary to remove their camp for the convenience of water; but breaking up in the night, were pretty much dispersed. In the morning *Mardonius* imputing their disorder to flight and cowardice, pursued them with his whole army, and with great violence charged their rear, consisting chiefly of the *Lacedæmonians*, who had been detained too long through the obstinacy of one of their own regiments, which insisted upon it, as not agreeable to the *Spartan* discipline, to desert their post. However they, collecting themselves into the order of a *Phalanx*, received the enemy with their wonted bravery, and, by the assistance of the *Tegeans*, maintained their ground with great slaughter of the enemy; amongst whom *Mardonius* himself was killed by *Aimnestus* a *Spartan*. The other *Grecian* troops, as soon as they took the alarm, came up in scattered companies to their relief, and made an entire rout of it; insomuch that *Artabazus*, who commanded a body of forty thousand *Persians*, fled with them towards the *Hellepont*, and the rest fortified themselves in their camp with wooden ramparts.

The *Athenians*, who were making all the haste they could to have a share in this action, were intercepted by five thousand of the *Thebans* and *Theffalians*, who sided with the *Persians*. However, after an hot dispute, they defeated them, and made their way to the *Lacedæmonians*,

cedæmonians, who were now assaulting the *Persian* camp. But being not so well skilled in that part of the war, the *Athenians* undertook to storm it; and having made a considerable breach, the whole army entered, and bearing down all before them, made such an incredible havock, that above a hundred thousand *Persians* were put to the sword. For *Pausanias*, in regard of their numbers, not thinking it safe to take any prisoners, would give no quarter. It is said, that of the three hundred thousand *Persians* who came into the field, there escaped scarce three thousand, besides the forty thousand who fled: And this victory was obtained with so little loss on the *Grecians* side, that we may very well take up with the highest account of it, since it mentions but ten thousand men, and serves rather to fix the probability of the action in general, than to derogate from the honour of it. The battle being over, the *Grecians* buried their dead; to which time *Diodorus* refers the original of funeral games and orations. But of the first of these institutions we have several instances in the heroes before, and at the time of the *Trojan* war, it being this, to which they owed a great part of their divinity: And the latter is by some ascribed to *Solon* as a part of his constitution; which from thence obtained all over *Greece*; it being thought not only an encouragement to the living, but also a great accession to the

happiness of the dead, to have their exploits enumerated by a public orator: And therefore to perpetuate the memory of such as had done very eminent service for their country, the *Panegyrick* was constantly repeated upon an anniversary day. The games which were instituted upon this occasion, were to be celebrated every fifth year, and they were called *games of liberty*. There were likewise annual sacrifices to be offered to *Jupiter Liberator*; for which purpose all the cities of *Greece* were to send their respective deputies to *Plataea*; and the inhabitants of that city were to have the more immediate care of these solemnities, in regard the battle was fought in their territory. In the camp they found a prodigious quantity of treasure; the division of which, *Justin* says, first infected *Greece* with the luxury of riches. Out of this spoil there were allotted to the *Plataeans* four-score talents, besides the several extraordinary privileges granted to them on account of their zeal and service on this occasion. They erected a temple to *Minerva* with the money, and adorned it with very curious paintings, which six hundred years after, in *Plutarch's* time, were said to have been as fresh as when they were first drawn. From hence they marched to *Thebes*; where after some little opposition, the heads of the revolt to the *Persian*, were delivered up to them, and put to death.

To

To crown this success in *Bæotia*, we must take a view of the affairs at sea. ^{Affairs at sea.} The greatest part of the *Persian* fleet, after the defeat at *Salamis*, wintered at *Cumæ*; and in the spring moved to *Samos*, both to guard, and to awe the coasts of *Asia*. The *Grecians*, in the meanwhile were refitting their ships at *Ægina*; whither the *Cbians* sent to them to free them from the *Persian* tyranny, and got them as far as *Delos*. While they staid here to learn what posture the enemy was in, they were again solicited by the *Samians*, to take this opportunity of putting out to sea, whilst the *Ionians* in general were well affected to them, and would certainly come in, when they saw a power likely to protect them. They immediately set sail under the conduct of *Leutychides* the *Spartan* Admiral, and *Xanthippus* the *Athenian*: At whose approach the *Persians* made to land; and at *Mycale*, a promontory of *Ionia*, halled their gallies on shore, shutting them up with a wall and a deep trench; and, on the other side they were covered by sixty thousand foot, who were left under the command of *Tigranes*, to secure the continent. *Leutychides* made to shore after them, and, by a public crier, animated the *Ionians* to revolt: After which he landed his forces, and prepared the next day to fight them. The *Persians* finding the *Ionians* wavering, disarmed the *Samians*, sent the *Milefians* to defend the passages about *Mycale*, and so dispersed the rest, that they should

*The fight
at My-
cale.*

*Tigranes
the Persian
general
killed.*

be in a manner obliged to fight in conjunction with the other troops. The *Grecians* drew up their army in two bodies; the one consisting chiefly of *Athenians* and *Corinthians*, kept the plain, whilst the other of *Lacedæmonians*, marched over hills and precipices, to gain the highest ground. The battle being joined, great courage and resolution was shewed on both sides; and the fortune of the day continued a great while doubtful, until the *Samians*, and *Milesians*, took their opportunity of deserting from the *Persians*, and were followed by most of the *Asiatic Grecians*. The *Persians* still endeavoured to keep the field, but were soon routed, and pursued with great slaughter to their very tents. The *Athenian* body had made themselves masters of the field, before the *Lacedæmonians* could come up to their assistance: So that all the share these latter had in the action, was to kill, and disperse some of the *Persian* troops, which were making a pretty regular retreat. There fell forty thousand of the *Persians* with *Tigranes* their general: And as they fought with a desire to retrieve the honour of their arms, the *Grecians* lost a greater proportion in this, than in any other of the engagements. This battle was fought on the evening of the same day with that at *Platæa*; the news of which victory arriving in the camp at *Mycale* before the engagement, contributed in a great measure towards the success of it: So that it is not

not material to inquire, whether *Leutychides* had actually intelligence from *Platea*, or, (which is most probable from the vast distance) that he invented it as a stratagem, to make his soldiers charge with the greater vigour and alacrity; since the bare rumour had this good effect, and since the thing itself happened accordingly.

To complete this victory, the *Grecians* burnt the *Persian* ships in the haven, and returned with great spoil to *Samos*; where they received the *Ionians* and *Æolians* as their confederates. And as they had once more freed them from the *Persian* yoke, they fell into a debate about transplanting them into *Europe*, since otherwise they would be continually alarmed, and they could not be ready upon all occasions to relieve them. But the *Athenians*, who pretended the greatest right to dispose of them, as being their founders, opposed it; and promising to protect them in the defence of their liberty, they were continued in *Asia*. After which the *Lacedæmonians* returned home, leaving the *Athenians* to recover the *Chersonese* of *Thrace*. Accordingly they lay before *Sestus*, whither some of the *Persians* had retired, until having starved them, they took the town, and hanged the governor. It being late in the year, they wintered here; and in the spring returned with their navy to *Athens*.

Thus

Thus were the *Grecians* at last freed from the invasion of an army no less ridiculous in success, than terrible in appearance, having, like locusts, overwhelmed their country for two years together. It was a deliverance rather to be wished than hoped for; since it could not have been effected, but by so many signal overthrows both by sea and land, in any one of which a miscarriage must have proved fatal to all *Greece*. To account for this prodigious success, we are to consider how the dissolution of the regal power had at this time fired the *Grecians* with the thoughts of liberty; so that it produced even in the private soldiers such uncommon notions of honour and resolution, that they were hardened beyond a sense of their danger. And this personal bravery was so well directed by the conduct and vigilance of their officers, that they generally fought to advantage, by drawing the *Persians* into streights and passes, so that they could not enlarge their front, nor consequently make use of their numbers. To add to which, there was a professed emulation among the several states of *Greece*; which, though it created some little difficulties in adjusting the business of precedence and command, had certainly a good effect as to the public, when it came to action, and had no object to vent itself upon, but the common enemy. Yet would not all these concurring circumstances have prevailed in

in so eminent a degree, if they had not had to do with an enemy, who was just their reverse, a slavish confused multitude, and wrapped up in a slothful security. The *Persians* had, before this expedition, lost all the captains of their founder *Cyrus*; and with them that spirit and discipline, which had given them the promise of a glorious, as well as an extensive empire. So that they had nothing to trust to but their numbers; and even this was so far from proving an advantage, that they were a dead weight and a burden to themselves, and served rather to encrease the fury of the enemy, than to defeat it.

As for *Xerxes*, he lay at *Sardis* expecting the event of these battles, until finding it impossible to retrieve such a long train of miscarriages, he retired farther into his country. Where we will leave him abandoned to a course of riot and luxury, without expatiating upon those black scenes of incest, sacrilege and murder, which made the latter part of his reign as notoriously scandalous at home, as the first part of it had been trifling abroad; and which at last occasioned his being murdered by his own subjects. It is sufficient here to observe, that whatever successful attempts were made by the *Persians* in other parts, neither *Xerxes*, nor his successors did ever, after this defeat at *Mycale*, act offensively against *Greece*. And though the *Persian* kingdom continued many
years

years after, and with the character of the greatest empire in the known world, her greatness consisted rather in riches and extent of territory, than any memorable achievements: And the continuance of it was owing to nothing more than those intestine broils among the *Grecians*, which, we shall find, by the prosecution of their story, diverted them from pushing their conquests in *Asia*.

The Conduct of Themistocles in rebuilding the walls of Athens.

The *Athenians* with their families being returned, employed their share of the booty in rebuilding their city. But as their walls took in a much larger compass than before, this gave some umbrage to the *Lacedæmonians*, who truly enough concluded, *That if this city, when it lay in ruins, could do such wonders, what would it not aspire to, when it was so fortified?* Wherefore they dispatched ambassadors to dissuade them from carrying on these works, because they would only serve as garrisons for the enemy, and be the seat of a future war. This put a stop to their proceedings for the present, until *Themistocles* encouraged them to go on, whilst he undertook to answer it at *Sparta*. Where having gained what time he could, before he had audience, the *Lacedæmonians* began to suspect his design, and renewed their remonstrances. He advised them not to take up with every idle report, but to send again, and see how little the works were advanced. Thus having amused them, until the walls were finished,

he addressed himself to the *Ephori*, telling them plainly, *That Athens was now in a condition to keep out any enemy, whether foreign, or domestic; that in what the Athenians had done, both the law of nations, and the public interest of Greece, would sufficiently bear them out; In short, that they were best able to judge of their own affairs, without the direction or controul of any other state; adding farther, That it was done by his advice; and that whatever injury they offered to him, they must expect it would be returned upon their own Ambassadors, who were detained at Athens.* These declarations carried too much weight and truth with them, to be easily refuted: So that the *Lacedæmonians* finding they could not help themselves, stifled their resentment, and dismissed *Themistocles*. He was received at *Athens* with as much joy, as if he had actually triumphed over *Sparta*: And indeed this was the first considerable step towards throwing off that superiority, which she had hitherto exacted. After this he set himself to enlarging, and strengthening the port *Piræus*, omitting nothing either by sea or land, that might serve not only to secure the *Athenians* from abroad, but also to fix their dominion at home. As an expedient for this latter, he proposed burning the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, as it lay in Harbour; but this was such a manifest piece of injustice, that he could not make *Aristides* consent to it.

A. M.

3527.

Olymp.

75. 4.

The *Persians* having still some footing in *Europe* and the *Lesser Asia*, thirty *Athenian* galleys were manned out under the conduct of *Aristides*, and twenty *Lacedæmonian* under *Pausanias*. They set sail to *Cyprus*; where they freed several towns, which the *Persians* had garrisoned; from whence they re-embarked, and took *Byzantium*. *Pausanias*, who was naturally haughty and imperious, and sufficiently elevated with the business of *Platæa*, presumed yet farther upon the success of this expedition. He became every day more difficult of access, and required more extraordinary marks of honour and respect to be paid to him: He treated not only his own officers, but all the confederates in general, with such severity, disdain and arrogance, that they wanted a fit opportunity to get rid of him; and such a one now offered upon a traiterous correspondence, that he was carrying on in *Persia*. In order to ingratiate himself at that court, he had suffered some *Persian* Noblemen, whom he had taken in the *Hellespont*, to make their escape by night, and had sent a letter by them to *Xerxes*, wherein he offered to deliver up *Sparta*, and all *Greece* to him, on condition he would give him his daughter in marriage. *Xerxes* readily hearkened to the proposal, and referred him to *Artabazus*, whom he appointed governor of the sea-coast in *Asia Minor*, to concert measures with him for putting it in execution. He also furnished him with a large sum of money to be

be distributed among such of the *Grecians*, as would join in the conspiracy. But this design was discovered at *Sparta*, and *Pausanias* was tried for it: However the proofs not being so clear against him as the *Spartan* laws required, he was acquitted. But his command was taken from him: Which, with the odium he had contracted to himself, and the ill impressions he had given of the *Spartan* dominion, became the means of transferring the command at sea to the *Athenians*. The *Ionians*, who were always best affected to them, immediately put themselves under their protection, and all the cities without the *Isthmus* soon followed their example, being easily gained upon by *Aristides* and *Cimon*, who were as remarkable for their modesty, candour, and humanity, as *Pausanias* was for his pride and insolence. The *Spartans* were ashamed of his behaviour, and sent another to succeed him in the *Hellepont*; but it was too late; the confederates had declared themselves on the other side, and would not admit him.

*Pausanias
tried and
acquitted.*

*The com-
mand at
sea trans-
ferred to
the Athe-
nians.*

The *Spartans* could not but fancy themselves over-reached, and tricked out of their command at sea; and though they made no public noise about it, yet it came to be debated among themselves, whether they should not declare war against *Athens*. This revived an old prophecy of the oracle, which had bid them *Beware of having but half an empire*, and which they could not interpret otherwise, than in re-

lation to their present circumstances. So that the general opinion was for war; but *Hetæmaridas* a senator dissuaded it, urging among other reasons, *That it did not so properly belong to the Spartans, to trouble themselves about sea-affairs.* The truth is they were not in a condition at present to contest it; and therefore they waved the thoughts of this war, to join in the prosecution of that in *Asia*.

*The first
tax in
Greece.*

The charge of the war being thus devolved upon the *Athenians*, they had a liberty given them to rate all the cities in such a proportion of ships and money, as they thought necessary for the support of it. Whatever contributions had hitherto been paid in the confederate wars, this was the first regular tax we find mentioned in *Greece*. It being appointed by *Aristides*, amounted to four hundred and sixty talents, and was deposited at *Delos* as the public treasury. It was collected at first with so much ease, and chearfulness, and managed with such integrity, that upon this account it was called *The happy time of Greece*, and compared to the *age of Saturn*. This mighty privilege, with which the *Athenians* were invested, chiefly upon the opinion of *Aristides's* justice, was a confirmation of that power they had so lately wrested from the *Spartans*. But as it was the beginning of their greatness in this age, so it was of their ruin in the next, when the tribute came to be raised first to six hundred talents, and soon after to one thousand

thousand three hundred, and the money misapplied.

The general commander in this war, was *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades*. I mentioned the piety of this young man in taking his father's fine upon him: And as he was insolvent, it happened, that *Callias* a rich citizen offered to marry his half-sister *Elpinice*, and discharge it. Whether he did not think it a match suitable to her quality, or that he was married to her himself, (which was allowable by *Solon's* laws) he did not comply with the proposal: but she declaring, *She would not suffer any of Miltiades's children to die in prison*, accepted it. Being thus set at liberty, he did good service in the army; and was soon taken notice of, as one who acted with the courage of his father, and the judgment of *Themistocles*, and with more openness and sincerity than either. *Aristides*, who easily discovered this honest *Genius* in him, took care to cultivate it, and set him up as a counter-poise to the craft and ambition of *Themistocles*: By which means he was advanced to the highest employments both at home and abroad. And being now strengthened by an accession of the allies, he went into *Thrace*, where he took *Eion*, a town situate upon the river *Strymon*, and chastised the bordering *Thracians*, who had supplied it with provisions. But the behaviour of *Butes* the *Persian* governor of this town, is beyond any thing that is

*The rise of
Cimon.*

*His expedition to
Thrace,
and the
Islands.*

recorded of his countrymen during this war. For finding it impossible to hold out any longer he threw all his treasure into the river, and then erected a funeral pile, whereon he burnt himself, and his whole family. From thence *Cimon* made to the island *Scyrus*, inhabited by some of the *Pelasgi* and *Dolopes*, a nest of pirates; and by expelling them, opened the trade of the *Ægean* sea: And all these places were planted with *Athenian* colonies. His next attempt was upon the *Carystians* of *Eubæa*, whom he brought over upon terms; he afterwards reduced *Naxus*, which had revolted, and deprived the inhabitants of their liberty. Which was the first instance of the *Athenians* exerting their power in that kind beyond the laws of the confederacy; though it was afterwards frequently practised, as the other cities revolted, to which they were very inclinable upon account of the tribute, which the *Athenians* began to exact with so much rigour, as made the thing burdensome, and their government odious.

Pausanias was so far from giving over his ambitious views, that immediately upon his being acquitted at *Sparta*, he returned to the sea-coasts, without any authority from the state, and, during these transactions of *Cimon*, continued to carry on his correspondence with *Artabazus*. But his designs were still traversed by the *Athenian* Generals, who forced him from that neighbourhood. At length the *Ephori* summoned him

to appear at *Sparta*, on pain of being declared a traitor to his country. He obeyed their order, and underwent a second trial: And among other strong circumstances against him, it was alledged, that he had excited the *Helots* to rebel. But whether his practices were not yet fully detected, or whether his judges were tender in the prosecution of one of the royal blood, and who was guardian to the young King, or whether they had regard to his past services, he was again discharged. But soon afterwards a full discovery was made by one of his slaves, whom he had sent to *Artabazus* with a letter for *Xerxes*. It was agreed between *Pausanias* and this governor, that, to prevent any discovery, the couriers, who passed from one to the other, should be made away with as soon as they had delivered their dispatches. The slave observing, that none of those who had been sent from *Sparta*, ever returned back, suspected there was something wrong in it, and opened the letter he was charged with; by which it appeared, that he was to be murdered in the same manner as those who went before him. This letter he delivered to the *Ephori*, who were now convinced that *Pausanias* was guilty; but for a more thorough confirmation, they were willing to have it from his own mouth. For this purpose they contrived, that the slave should take sanctuary in the temple of *Neptune*, as for safety and protection, and under a pre-

Pausanias
tried
again.

tence of supplicating the deity for the infidelity he had committed. *Pausanias*, according to their expectation, was immediately alarmed, and repaired to the temple, to know how the matter stood; and the *Ephori*, with some other attendants, had concealed themselves in a little inner room, where they could hear what passed. The slave expostulated with his master upon the subject of the letter, which he acknowledged he had opened, and then reproached him with his cruelty, which *Pausanias* could not deny; but he endeavoured to pacify him, and promised him a great reward to keep the secret. The confession of *Pausanias's* guilt being by this means drawn from him, the *Ephori* were preparing to proceed against him: But he having some intimation of it, took sanctuary in the temple of *Minerva*; where the door being made up, (to which end his mother is said to have brought the first stone) he was starved to death; and by this treason to his country forfeited the glory of having rescued it by one of the most signal victories, that ever was obtained in Greece.

Themistocles his death.

His fate drew along with it that of *Themistocles*; who had some time before been banished by the *Ostracism*, and lived in great esteem at *Argos*. There were found among *Pausanias's* papers some hints of a correspondence carried on between these two, for promoting the affairs of the *Persian*: And if he were engaged in that interest,

interest, his country's ingratitude might very well prompt him to it. But whatever the matter of fact was, it was sufficiently aggravated by the envy and malice of the *Lacedæmonians*, who having received from him the severest checks to their ambition, never left off, until they got him accused and condemned, without being heard. Which he having notice of, fled first to *Corcyra*, then to *Epirus*; where being pursued, he got with much difficulty into *Asia*, and applied himself to *Xerxes*. *Thucydides* says, contrary to the general opinion, that his son *Artaxerxes* was then upon the throne: But perhaps he was only declared heir to the crown, it being customary among the *Persian* Kings to name their successor some time before they died, as we find *Darius* did before his expedition; at least this is the most plausible way of reconciling the difference. Being admitted to the King, he told him, *He was Themistocles the Athenian, who had been banished his country, and had now fled to him for protection. That he had indeed brought many calamities on the Persians; but that he had likewise done them many services by the good advice he had several times given them; and that he was now in a capacity of serving them more effectually.* My life, said he, is in your power; you may dispose of it as you think fit; by saving it, you will oblige one who asks it of you; by taking it away you will destroy the greatest enemy to Greece. The King was sur-

prised at his intrepid behaviour, and at present made him no answer: But after having dismissed him, he spoke of him to his friends as a treasure that he had obtained; and was so overjoyed at his arrival, that at night he started out of his sleep, and cried out thrice, *I have got Themistocles the Athenian.* The next morning he sent for him; and, instead of sacrificing him to his revenge, as was generally expected, he made him a present of two hundred talents, which was the price he had set upon his head for the taking him, and desired of him an account of the affairs of *Greece.* He afterwards took him into his parties of pleasure, and shewed him such further uncommon marks of friendship and esteem, that the other favourites grew jealous of him. But the King's view was by his means to make another more successful attempt upon *Greece.* He gave him three cities to maintain him; so that having lived some time in great splendor, he died, as some say, a natural death at *Magnesia.* But that which is recorded most to his glory, is, that having engaged the *Persian* not to undertake the war against *Greece* without him, he poisoned himself, as being the most honourable means of acquitting himself both to *Xerxes*, and his country. Whatever his intentions were, his actions were free from guilt to the last: So that his residing in an enemy's country, seems to have been rather of necessity, then choice, being first abandoned, and then

then persecuted by the insolence, and jealousy of an ungrateful people; who could not at the same time but acknowledge him for the greatest man in *Greece*, and one born for its preservation. Some say, that at his first setting out in the world, he led such an idle profligate life, that his father disinherited him: Which agrees with a saying of his own, *That ragged colts, when they come to be taught, make the best horses.* But others affirm, that he applied himself very early to business, and with great attention; and that his father, to discourage him from meddling with state affairs, took him to the sea-side, and shewed him the old gallies, as they lay neglected and unrepared upon the shore, comparing them to the chief commanders, who were discharged by the people, when they had no further occasion for them. But this did not check his ambition; he soon grew into a general repute, and by his parts and industry became so eminent, that nothing of moment was done without him. He was a good pleader, and knew how to make his court to the people; but it was more by his natural cunning, than his manner of address. For, in his general deportment, he was rough and unpolished; and being one day upbraided with it, he said, *He must own he could not play upon the lute, but that, in lieu of it, he could raise a great city out of a small one.* He was a good judge in private controversies between man and man; but

And character.

in points of interest, which concerned either himself or the public, he was often partial and unjust. Such was the case of his rebuilding the walls of *Athens*: For however justifiable the thing might be in itself; yet his manner of doing it, with regard to the *Spartans*, was fraudulent and tricking. Wherefore this piece of management against those, who had acted in friendship and alliance with the *Athenians* for their mutual preservation, is not to be considered in the same light with his other stratagems against the *Persians*, who were the declared enemies of *Greece*. But herein he went upon a false maxim, which prevailed too generally among the *Grecians*, that all ways of encreasing the power of their country, were allowable, and that the end would sufficiently justify the means. The *Spartans* themselves were as blameable as others in this respect; however they never forgave this act of treachery in *Themistocles*: In the end it proved his ruin, and laid the seeds of that long and fatal discord, which afterwards broke out between the two republics. But whatever cause of resentment the *Spartans* had against him, he had not deserved the treatment he met with from his fellow-citizens, who reaped the fruit of all his labours, and for whom he had succeeded in every thing he undertook. He was, after *Miltiades*, the chief instrument of their deliverance: And every part of his conduct in that great
work

work deserves praise. The first necessary step towards it, was to suppress that spirit of emulation and rivalry among the several states of *Greece*, which, at the time of the *Persian descent*, was breaking out into a flame: But it was happily prevented by *Themistocles*, who composed their differences, and united most of them against the common enemy. And even after this union, he found it very difficult to adjust the point of command, which he had pride enough to insist on for himself, and zeal enough for the honour of his fellow-citizens, who had a natural right to the command at sea: But he waved all pretensions of this kind, and submitted to every thing for the public good. This is what *Plutarch* extols in him as true greatness of mind; and makes a just remark upon it, *That he could never have overcome his enemies by his courage, if he had not first got the better of his allies by his condescension.* He was the first who gave the *Athenians* a right notion of sea-affairs, and laid the foundation of all their naval glory. He confirmed to them that superiority of command at sea, which had lately devolved to them by the insolence of *Pausanias*, and put them in the way of obtaining the sovereignty of *Greece*. He established it as a maxim, *That their present and future safety depended intirely on their shipping.* They were not presently convinced of this truth; and therefore reproached him with *taking from them*
the

the spear and the shield, and binding them to the bank and the oar. But they afterwards found the good effects of it; and so long as they pursued his plan, and continued to act as a maritime power, they were a great flourishing people. He had a very discerning genius, and great sagacity and foresight: Plutarch says, He had an eye, which could penetrate even into the womb of events. And as no body saw things at a greater distance; so no body passed a truer and quicker judgment of them in cases of present difficulty. He was saying one day, That the greatest talent a General could possess, was, to foresee the designs of an enemy: Yes, says Aristides, that is very necessary; but it is likewise necessary to have clean hands, and to be above any views of interest. Themistocles was so stung with this reply, that when afterwards he heard Aristides extolled for the care he took of the public money, he made a jest of it, and said, His merit, in this respect, was of the same kind with that of a strong box. As he had great natural advantages, so he had a way of setting them off with a great deal of artifice. He used religion only as a cloak; though it was generally for good purposes, and for the service of the public. This was the use he made of signs and prodigies, dreams, omens, oracles, and other divine revelations, which he knew how to interpret according to the spirit he was to raise in the minds of the people. He had
other

other little arts of gaining upon them. He made it his business to know every citizen personally, and would salute them by their names. When he was Admiral, he would put off all his business to the day he was to sail, in order to raise an opinion of his capacity and dispatch: And so through the whole course of his politics, there was something more fine and intricate, than *Greece* had hitherto been acquainted with. But it must be confessed, that there was in most of his best actions more craft and subtilty, than was suitable to the character either of his bravery in the field, or of his wisdom in the senate.

It was also about this time that *Aristides* died: of whose integrity and contempt of riches there cannot be a clearer evidence, than that he, who had been treasurer of *Greece*, did not leave enough to bury him. When he was grown old, and had quitted the administration, he spent the rest of his life in instructing and training up young men as a nursery for the state, instilling into them principles of honour and justice, and inspiring them with a zeal and love for their country. His most particular favourite was *Cimon*, who, in a great measure, owed the figure he afterwards made in the world, to his friendship and advice. His chief characteristick was his justice: But he had likewise given great proofs of his wisdom and bravery; and he had an evenness of temper, which carried him through all the circumstances of life, both as

*Aristides
his death,
and cha-
racter.*

to himself, and the public. He was in all respects so true a servant of the public, that *Valerius Maximus* says, upon the occasion of his banishment, *It was happy for Athens, that she could find out another good and faithful citizen after the banishment of him, with whom virtue itself was fled from her.* His case was certainly one of the strongest instances of the power of faction at that time in *Athens*. For he was not of the number of those, who presumed so far upon the merit of their services, as to endanger the public liberty; which was the chief pretence upon which the *Ostracism* was founded. He had no aspiring views that could give any umbrage of that kind: His ambition went no further than to procure the safety and honour of the common-wealth; and if that end were answered, he was not very solicitous how it was brought about, nor whether by himself or others, or whether by his friends or his foes. This was sufficiently experienced in his behaviour to his greatest enemy *Themistocles*, with whom he readily concurred in the operations of the war, assisted him with his information, his counsel, and his credit, and then let him engross to himself all the honour of the victory. He also contented himself with acting in a sort of subordination to him in the government. He shewed the same generous conduct with regard to *Miltiades* at the battle of *Marathon*; where he was of equal rank with him as one of the ten Generals, who

who were each of them to have their turn of commanding the army for a day. But he wisely considered, that the dividing and shifting the command in this manner, must be attended with great inconveniencies, that it would occasion the making so many different dispositions, and the giving so many different orders, that it would be hardly possible to form, or at least to execute any regular plan of action. For this reason he proposed the vesting the whole power in *Miltiades* singly; and he not only resigned his own day of command to him, but prevailed with his colleagues to follow his example. And this he did not out of any diffidence of himself, or any backwardness to engage the enemy: For it was he who chiefly supported *Miltiades* in his opinion, against the majority of the officers, rather to go out and meet the *Persians* in the field, than to stay and receive them in the town. By these means it was, that the success of the battle may, in some measure, be ascribed to him, without detracting from the glory of *Miltiades*. He acted in the same disinterested manner in the senate and the assembly, where he often put up his proposals in others names, that nothing of personal prejudice, or private enmity, might interfere with the good of the community. He procured several laws to be passed, according as the exigency of affairs made them necessary: And among the rest there was one very remarkable,

markable, by which all the citizens, without distinction, were made capable of bearing office, and of being admitted to a share in the government; which was a great change in the constitution, and directly contrary to *Solon's* scheme. This he did of himself when he was *Archon*; and it was the more extraordinary, because he naturally favoured the nobility. But when he found the people carry it high upon their service against the *Persians*, he thought it of less dangerous consequence, to let them into the administration by law, than that they should endeavour to let themselves into it by force. However it happened, that they made a more modest use of this privilege, than could have been expected: For they contented themselves with being chosen into some of the lowest employments, without aspiring to the magistracy. As by this means the main intent of the law was lost, it grew by degrees into disuse, except that now and then, as factions prevailed, and as particular men found their account in courting the people, they were spirited up to murmur against their superiors, and to assert their right of sharing with them in the government. They were encouraged in it chiefly by *Pericles*, who likewise annexed salaries to those little offices, which, by common consent, they were allowed to execute: And probably it was owing to these advantages, and such further marks of indulgence, as from time to time they received,

received, that they seldom carried their pretensions so high, as, according to the full extent of the law, they might have done; and that the administration was, generally speaking, left in the hands of those, whose birth, fortune, and education, gave them a more natural title to it. Thus the inconveniencies, which might have arisen from this law, were in a great measure prevented; and the good that resulted from it, was ascribed chiefly to *Aristides*. Upon the whole, he had at least the second hand in raising *Athens* to her present pitch of grandeur; and as *Themistocles* was the greatest, so *Aristides* was the best man of his time.

Athens being deprived of these supports, the chief burden lay upon *Cimon*; who having been successful hitherto, and being furnished with more ships and provisions, scoured the *Asiatick* seas, and made to *Caria*; where all the *Grecian* cities upon the sea-coast immediately came in; and the rest, which were garrisoned by the *Persians*, he took partly by storm, and partly by managing intelligence within their walls. After which, he met with the like success in *Lycia*. So closely did he pursue them, that he would not let them take breath, or put their affairs in any posture: So that from *Ionia* to *Pamphylia* there was not a man appeared for the *Persian*. Having notice that they had some land forces making head against him upon the coasts of *Pamphylia*, and that they were supported by a fleet of at

least three hundred and fifty sail, he immediately directed his course towards *Cyprus*, about which the fleet lay. The first opposition he met with, was at *Phaselis* inhabited by *Grecians*, who, upon a pretence of neutrality, denied him entrance into their port: But he soon obliged them to pay down ten talents as a fine, and to join their forces with him.

The whole *Persian* fleet anchored at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, where they expected a reinforcement of *Phœnician* ships, and therefore declined fighting, until they could come up: But *Cimon* ranged his galleys in such a posture, as to prevent their joining, and yet force them to fight. Upon which they retired further within the mouth of the river; until finding the *Athenians* making up to them, they met them, and gave them battle. Having the superiority of an hundred sail, they maintained the conflict for some time, but at last they were forced to shore, where they who came first, threw themselves upon land, leaving their empty vessels to the enemy. So that besides what were sunk, the *Athenians* took an hundred, and some accounts double that number. Upon this their land army drawing towards the sea, *Cimon* was in suspense whether he should make a descent: But finding his men resolute, and flushed with victory, he landed them before they had wiped off the sweat and blood of the first engagement. *Diodorus* says, they were landed by a stratagem

*The fight
at Eurymedon.*

A. M.

3534.

Olymp.

77. 3.

stratagem of *Cimon's*, who dressed the best of his men in *Persian* habits, and put them on board the vessels he had taken. However it was, they no sooner touched ground, but they set up a shout, and ran furiously upon the enemy, who sustained the first shock with great obstinacy; so that the fight began to be very doubtful, several principal men of the *Athenians* being slain. At length the *Persians* were totally routed, some taken prisoners, and all their tents plundered; wherein was a great deal of rich booty, most of which was employed by *Cimon* in public buildings about the city. Thus did *Cimon* obtain two intire victories, which, in some sense, may be said to surpass those of *Salamis*, and *Platæa*, being both gained the same day, and by the same men. And to make them yet more complete, he intercepted eighty sail of *Phœnicians*, who, knowing nothing of the defeat, were coming up to the assistance of their allies: The ships were all taken, and the men either slain, or drowned.

The *Persian* after this was glad to treat upon any terms; and a peace was concluded extremely honourable on the *Grecians* side, the chief articles being, *That the Grecian cities in Asia should be left in the quiet enjoyment of their liberty; and that both the land and sea forces of the Persians should be kept at such a distance from the Grecian seas, as not to give any umbrage.* It is true, the account of this peace

*A Peace
concluded
betwixt
Greece
and Persia.*

depends chiefly upon the authority of *Plutarch*; for others place it lower, upon *Cimon's* expedition against *Cyprus*. To confirm which latter opinion, it is certain the same inveteracy continued between the two nations, and therefore this first treaty was not inviolably observed. But as the war was prosecuted only by the *Athenians*, and that very faintly, and not so directly against the *Persian*, it never after this defeat at *Eurymedon* came to a decisive battle, nor indeed to any general action, until the time that *Alexander* over-ran *Asia*. For which reasons we may allow of this treaty, and with it conclude the *Persian* war.

Anaxagoras.

• Νῆς.

Simonides.

About the time of *Xerxes's* expedition, the study of philosophy was translated from *Ionia* to *Athens* by *Anaxagoras* of *Clazomenæ*, who became so eminent, that he was called *, *The Mind*, by way of distinction. Poetry at the same time was cultivated by *Simonides* of the island *Geos*, who excelled in most kinds of verse, and recorded the four celebrated fights at *Marathon*, *Thermopylæ*, *Salamis*, and *Platæa*. His chief talent was *elegy*; wherein he succeeded so well, that *Catullus* calls his writings in that kind, *The Tears of Simonides*. But the original of *elegy* may be more properly ascribed to *Mimnermus*, who was contemporary with *Solon*, and invented that soft strain to lament the misfortunes of his love. To *Simonides* is also ascribed the invention of *artificial memory*: And his learning and wisdom
in

in other matters procured him the esteem and friendship of the greatest men of his time, particularly of *Hiero* tyrant of *Sicily*.

C H A P. IV.

From the peace concluded upon *Cimon's* victories at the river *Eurymedon*, to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war.

Containing the space of 38 years.

THE *Athenian* forces being withdrawn from *Asia*, were employed in reducing the *Thracian Chersonese*. After which they fell upon the *Thasians*, upon the account of some rich mines they were possessed off. *Cimon* having defeated them at sea, they stood a siege; and, in the mean while, desired the *Spartans* to invade *Attica*. But they had at that time their hands full in repairing the damages of a violent earthquake, which had destroyed a great many men, with most part of their buildings: And *Pausanias* by tampering with the *Helots*, had left such impressions upon them, that they took this opportunity to rebel. So that the *Thasians*, not being able to procure a diversion, submitted upon terms in the third year of the siege. But *Cimon* instead of being rewarded for this service,

The Chersonese subdued,

and Thasos.

Cimon
accused.

was accused of holding intelligence with the King of *Macedon*, because, when the passage was opened, he did not make a further irruption into his territories. He urged several things in his defence, and was seconded by his sister *Elpinice*; who addressing herself to *Pericles* in his behalf, he answered her with a smile, *You are too old, Madam, to manage affairs of this nature.* However he became afterwards more mild in his prosecution; he rose up but once to plead against him, and then did it so faintly, that he was easily acquitted.

*The rise of
Pericles.*

But since we have mentioned *Pericles*, as one who appeared now with an established character, and began to take upon him the chief management of affairs in *Athens*, it may be necessary to take a more distinct view of him, that we may see both by what steps he arrived to that eminence in the state, and what alterations the state itself suffered under him. He was descended of one of the best families in *Athens*, his father being *Xanthippus*, who had been very active against the *Persian*, and bore a considerable sway in the city, and his mother *Agariste*, the grand-daughter of *Clisthenes*. His education was suitable to his birth; and having a strange vivacity of parts, he easily retained, and improved the instructions of the best masters: Among whom *Anaxagoras* was the chief; for as others had only furnished him with some loose notions of philosophy, he established in him

him maxims of sound sense, and put him upon an enquiry into the secret springs and arts of government. It was observed, that he bore a near resemblance to *Pisistratus* both in person and parts: But he was so far from thinking this an advantage, that it made him shy of meddling with state affairs, lest he should be thought he was carrying on the same designs. For this reason his first service was in the wars, where he acquitted himself with honour: But he took his opportunity, as *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, and the other great men went off, to apply himself to the state, as his more proper province; where he appeared with an extraordinary advantage in the *art of speaking*. He had accustomed himself by a flow of words to confute any opinion right or wrong; and the use he made of this faculty, was to work every thing to his own designs. His way of haranguing was said to be in an *imperial strain*; from whence most probably he had the surname of *Olympius*, by which was meant, that like *Jupiter*, *he thundered when he spoke*. And then the tuneableness of his voice, the air of his face, his very dress, and gesture had something of a commanding gravity, which charmed, and astonished all that heard, or saw him. The chief obstacle to his rise he found was *Cimon*, whose candor, liberality, and good service had procured him a general love and esteem, and who besides had fixed a particular

U 4 interest

interest with the nobility : So that *Pericles* in opposition to him fell in with the people ; and as he saw no other way of pushing his ambition, this made him guilty of some mean popular compliances, which otherwise the greatness of his spirit, and the reservedness of his temper would not have consented to. As he was not yet upon an equal foot with *Cimon*, who had money enough to display his generous qualities to advantage, and by that means to thwart his designs, this put him upon making use of the public money : So that by bribes, largesses, and other distributions, he easily gained the people. Having laid this promising foundation, he struck next at the council of *Areopagus* ; and by the assistance of *Epbialtes* another mighty champion for the people, he withdrew most causes from the cognizance of that court, and brought the whole order into contempt. By these methods he soon got the ascendant over all his competitors ; and if *Cimon* was permitted to continue in employment, it was because he was wanted, and through the easiness of his temper he complied, and gave way, contenting himself rather with the merit, than the reward of serving his country. *Plutarch* says in praise of *Pericles*, that he divided his authority with *Cimon*, and that, suitably to their different qualifications, he assigned to him the management of the war, and reserved to himself the civil administration. But this partition

tition was more an act of necessity, than of choice: For he found the other had still too powerful an interest to be wholly laid aside, and that he could not well go on without him. However he took care to keep him at a distance, and to employ him in such a manner, as to prevent his comptrolling him, or interfering with him in the business of the state.

The *Lacedæmonians* in their distress sent for some *Athenian* succours to suppress their slaves: But *Epibialtes* opposed it, as a very wrong step to raise up, or assist a city that was rival to *Athens*; he insisted, *That it was necessary to break the pride, and arrogance of Sparta; and that the best means of doing it, was, while she was down, to keep her so.* *Cimon* urging on the contrary, *That they should not suffer Greece to be maimed by the loss of so considerable a member, nor their own city to be deprived of her companion,* obtained leave to march out with a good body to their relief. But however the *Helots* were dispersed for the present, they soon got to an head again; and having drawn several of their neighbours into a confederacy, possessed themselves of *Ithome*, the old receptacle in the *Messenian* wars. Upon which the *Spartans* dispatched messengers a second time to *Athens* for supplies: Which were no sooner arrived, but their minds changed; so that either distrusting, or disdaining their service, they sent them home again. Whatever cause of resentment

Cimon
banished.

ment the *Spartans* had hitherto met with, they had still carried it fair, or at least cautiously : But this was such an open affront, that it became the grounds of a long professed enmity between the two states. The *Athenians* vented their anger first upon *Cimon*, as a favourer of the *Lacedæmonians*. He was indeed an admirer of their constitution, and had personal obligations to them, being, at his first rise, chiefly countenanced by them in opposition to *Themistocles*. Besides he had created himself enemies, by espousing the interest of the nobility against *Pericles*, and *Epbialtes*. So that upon these, and other slight pretences, he was forced to submit to the *ten years banishment*. But whatever was alledged against him, his case was much the same with that of his predecessors : He had done too much to live easy, or safe with a people, who feared none so much, as the authors of their deliverance ; so that they had recourse to the *Ostracism*, as an expedient always at hand ; and it was now grown so customary that it was in a manner become the *Test* of a man's merit.

The next step the *Athenians* made, was to quit their alliance with the *Spartans*, and enter into one with the *Argives* their professed enemies, in which they also comprehended the *Thes- salians*. The jarring of these two states gave occasion to several others to follow their example. Particularly about this time the inha-
bitants

bitants of *Mycenæ* presuming upon their service in the *Persian* wars, endeavoured to recover their ancient splendor, by throwing off their dependence upon the common-wealth of *Argos*. The *Argives* had long looked upon them with a jealous eye; and took this opportunity of humbling them, whilst the *Spartans* were too deeply engaged in their domestic war, to relieve them. Accordingly they first defeated them in the field, and then blocked up their city; which made a very good defence for some time, until being almost exhausted, it was taken, and utterly demolished. This was the end of *Mycenæ*, which had made an early figure in *Greece*, and been the nursery of many of her first heroes. The *Helots* all this while gave the *Spartans* a great deal of trouble before *Ithome*: But in the tenth year of the siege they were forced to submit, and being banished *Peloponnesus*, the *Athenians* received them, and settled them with their families in *Naupactus*, which they had lately taken from the *Locri Ozolæ*. There was also about this time a quarrel between *Corinth* and *Megara*; the latter of which cities revolting from its alliance with *Sparta*, was protected, and garrisoned by the *Athenians*: Which as it was a new accession to *Athens*, so it was the grounds of an inveterate hatred betwixt that state and *Corinth*.

Mycenæ
taken and
demolished.

The Helots
suppressed.

But before we proceed to the effects of these divisions, it will be necessary to touch upon a
new

Expedition of the Athenians in Ægypt.

new expedition of the *Athenians* in *Ægypt*, which had revolted from the *Persian*, at the instigation of *Inarus* King of *Lybia*. The *Athenians*, notwithstanding the late treaty, had rigged out a good fleet, the design being laid against *Cyprus*; which lying in the streights between *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Ægypt*, would give them a great command in those parts, and be upon all occasions a curb to the *Persian*. *Inarus* knowing of what use they would be to him, diverted them from this enterprize, by proposing to them a share in his conquests, as of far greater consequence to them, than the addition of a small island. Accordingly they went with two hundred sail to his assistance; and were no sooner landed, but they joined battle, routed the *Persians*, and pursued them to *Memphis*, took two parts of the city, and blocked up the third, which went by the name of the *white wall*. *Artaxerxes*, though he sent above three hundred thousand men into the field, was so hard pressed, that he practised with the *Lacedæmonians* to invade *Attica*, in hopes the *Athenians* would be recalled to its defence. This was the first instance of the *Persians* attempting to bribe one part of *Greece*, to act against the other: However their generosity, or their fear, swayed so much with them, as to reject his proposals. But the *Persians* coming next year with a great reinforcement of men and shipping, gave a mighty turn to their affairs.

fairs. The *Athenians* made several attempts to storm the *white wall*: But upon the approach of these forces, they were obliged to raise the siege, and retire into *Byblus*, a town of *Prosopis* an island of the *Nile*, with their fleet lying in the river before the town. Here they held out a siege of eighteen months: After which the *Persians* turning the course of the river, drained the channel; and having by that means taken their gallies, put all the men to the sword, except some few, who escaped into *Lybia*: Though *Diodorus* says, that finding their ships made useless by this stratagem, they set fire to them themselves, resolving to fight it out to the last man; and that the *Persians* seeing their obstinacy, let them go upon terms. It is certain, that being abandoned by the *Ægyptians*, they were so weakened, that they could not make head again. And to compleat their misfortunes, it happened that fifty sail being sent to their relief, and knowing nothing of their defeat, fell in with the *Phœnicians* at *Mendesium* one of the mouths of *Nile*, and were most of them destroyed.

Six years the *Athenians* spent in this fruitless expedition; during which time their fellow-citizens found employment enough among their neighbours. Their quarrel with the *Corinthians* about *Megara* came to two pitched battles; wherein the *Epidaurians* assisted *Corinth*, and both sides were victorious in their turns.

*Their
quarrels
with their
neigh-
bours.*

turns. Soon after the war was renewed with the *Æginetans*, whose reputation for sea-affairs having been confirmed by their service against the *Persian*, they could ill bear the excessive growth of the *Athenian* power. But they were shamefully defeated with the loss of seventy sail: After which *Leocrates* landed in the island, and blocked up the city. The *Peloponnesians* sent three hundred men to its relief: And the *Corinthians* took this opportunity, whilst the *Athenian* forces were divided betwixt *Ægypt* and *Ægina*, to make incursions into *Megaris*. But the *Athenians* marched out of the city to a man against them under the conduct of *Myronides*. In the first battle the *Corinthians* without reason pretended to have the better: But upon their coming to erect a trophy, a second ensued, wherein they were entirely defeated.

The next quarrel of importance was between the *Phocians* and *Dorians*; to the assistance of which latter, the *Lacedæmonians*, as being originally descended from them, sent an army of eleven thousand five hundred men. These forces soon brought the *Phocians* to terms; but gave occasion to a much sharper contest with the *Athenians*: Who perceiving, that they loitered about *Bæotia* for fear of being intercepted in their return, drained their city again, and with their own, and their confederate forces, making up fourteen thousand men, met them about *Tanagra* a city not far distant

*The battle
of Tana-
gra.*

distant from *Thebes*. Here *Cimon* came in to them; and though he was still under the sentence of *Ostracism*, ranged himself with those of his own tribe. But the council of five hundred not knowing what designs he might have, commanded the officers not to receive him: Whereupon he left the army, conjuring *Euthippus*, and the rest of his companions, who lay under the same suspicion of favouring the enemy, to behave themselves so, as to vindicate their good intentions to their country. They followed his advice; and being an hundred in number, made a separate body; and the battle being joined, charged so desperately, that they were all cut off, leaving to the *Albanians* a double regret, both for the loss of such brave men, and for their having so unjustly suspected them. After a great slaughter on both sides, the *Lacedæmonians* obtained the victory; which was occasioned chiefly by the revolt of the *Thessalian* horse to them in the heat of the action. After which they harrassed *Megaris*, and returned home through the *Isthmus*.

The *Athenians*, in about two months after this defeat, resolving to revenge themselves, marched again into *Bæotia*, and intirely routed the inhabitants, with those *Lacedæmonian* forces, which were left about *Tanagra*. This battle was fought at a place called *Oenophyta*, or the Vine-

Another at
Oenophy-
ta.

it

it is no where described, *Diodorus* makes it as famous as any of antiquity, in regard it was fought against as stout and hardy a people as any in *Greece*, and the success of it was owing purely to the *Athenian* valour, without the assistance of their confederates. After the fight they took *Tanagra* by storm, and demolished it; over-run the greatest part of *Bæotia*, as also of *Phocis*, and the *Locri Opuntii*; of which latter they took an hundred hostages, and returned to *Athens*; where *Myronides* their General was received with great acclamations, for having accomplished so much in so short a compass of time. And it was upon the good management, and success of this expedition, that he has been ranked with the greatest of the *Athenian* captains; though his name and actions being not so generally recorded, have consequently made less noise in the world. The *Athenians* at this time finished their long walls, which joined the city to the port, and which they had begun after the last defeat of the *Corinthians*. And notwithstanding their many divisions, the siege of *Ægina* had been carried on without interruption; and the inhabitants now yielding it up, had no other terms given them, than to raze the walls, deliver up their shipping, and pay their tribute for the future. The next, who signalized himself in *Athens*, was *Tolmides* who in emulation of the honour obtained by *Myronides*, coasted *Peloponnesus* with fifty gallies,

gallies, and four thousand men on board them, and took *Gythium* a port town of *Laconia*; where he burnt and destroyed their naval forces, and harassed the country. From thence he made successful inroads into the *Corinthian* territories, and defeated the *Sicyonians* in a land fight.

These were the transactions of the *Athenians* during the war in *Ægypt*: But about the time of the defeat there, a stop was also put to their career in *Greece*. Particularly they were foiled in *Thessaly*, attempting to reinstate *Orestes*, who being banished thence, had begged their assistance. After which *Pericles* put to sea, and took much the same compass *Tolmides* did, but not altogether with the same success. He harassed the cities upon the sea-coasts, gave the *Sicyonians* another overthrow, and taking in fresh supplies at *Achaia* which was then in league with *Athens*, put over to *Acarnania*; but was forced to return without performing any thing of importance. The *Athenians*, ever since the business of *Tanagra*, suspected a storm from *Sparta*: and as the event of that action had given them cause to repent their ill usage of *Cimon*, they thought it necessary to their affairs at this juncture to have him recalled. Accordingly, when he had been five years in exile, *Pericles*, who was the chief instrument in his banishment, writ the edict for his return. And being returned, he made use of his interest in *Sparta*, to reconcile that state to *Athens*; which he so far effected,

Cimon recalled,

Procures a peace betwixt Athens and Sparta.

fect, that a peace was concluded betwixt them for five years.

His expedition to Cyprus.

Peace being established, he found the *Athenians* impatient of ease: And lest so many ships cruising about *Peloponnesus*, and the isles, should give fresh occasion to intestine wars, he proposed to make another attempt upon *Cyprus*. Though some say, *Pericles* made this a private condition of his return, that he should command the forces abroad upon some expedition against the *Persians*, and leave him to govern in the city. And it seems very probable, that something of this nature passed betwixt them, because *Pericles* had constantly taken occasion, whilst the other was abroad, to reverse all that had been done by him in favour of the nobility. Whatever the motive was, he manned out two hundred gallies, and being arrived at *Cyprus*, detached sixty of them for the service in *Ægypt*. For though upon the last defeat there *Inarus* was taken, and most of the country reduced, the fenny parts of it still held out under *Amyrtaeus*. *Cimon* in the mean while over-ran great part of the island *Cyprus*, and laid siege to *Citium*: But lying before the town, (whether sick or wounded, is not determined) and perceiving he should die, he charged those about him to conceal the news of his death; which they managed with such secrecy, that the *Grecian* army was conducted, as it were by him thirty days after he was dead. And having obtained

His death.

obtained a great victory, wherein they took an hundred of the *Phœnician*, *Cyprian*, and *Cilician* vessels, and being joined by the ships, which returned from *Ægypt*, they sailed home. *Diodorus* insinuates, that it was upon this defeat that memorable peace was concluded which is mentioned after the fight at *Eurymedon*: But as all writers agree as to the main articles, though not as to the time, this might probably be the same treaty renewed.

With *Cimon* in a great measure fell that true spirit of gallantry, which had hitherto animated a race of heroes against the common enemy. And as he was the last, so in one respect he was the greatest of them; inasmuch as he struck a greater terror into the *Persian*, by carrying the war almost into the heart of his country; and awed him so in the *Lesser Asia*, that no officer of what quality, or character soever could command there, nor durst any soldier appear in arms, within four hundred furlongs of the sea. When he first offered himself to be employed in the service of the public, he was rejected by the people for his dissolute course of life; and thereupon he quitted all pretensions of that kind. But *Aristides* perceiving, that whatever his excesses were, he had in the main, a good disposition to virtue, took him under his protection, and reclaimed him; and from thenceforwards he was principally concerned in most of the great actions that hap-

And character.

pened in his time, both at sea and land. He had great discernment of persons and things, and was otherwise well qualified for the administration: But his service was chiefly abroad; and that was owing in a great measure to *Pericles*, who was rising upon him, and had great views in the management of affairs at home. *Cimon* improved upon the plan laid down by *Themistocles* for increasing the naval power of *Athens*. For which purpose, when he found the allies grown weary of the war, and that they turned their thoughts more to trade and husbandry, he indulged them in it. According to the tax settled for maintaining the war, they were to contribute their proportion of money, ships and men. As to the money part, they made no difficulty of complying with it; and they were willing enough to furnish the *Quota* of ships, but they did not care to serve on board them. From hence *Cimon* took occasion to man them with his fellow-citizens; who being by this means kept in constant exercise, raised the credit of the *Athenians* at sea, and by insensible degrees reduced those, who had hitherto acted upon a foot of equality with them as friends and confederates, to a condition little better than that of tributaries and vassals. But the *Athenians* were afterwards obliged to behave with more moderation towards their allies, when they wanted their assistance against the *Peloponnesians*. *Cimon* was, next to *Aristides*,
most

most remarkable for his justice and integrity, and contempt of money. He gave an handsome turn to *Ræfages* a *Persian*; who having fled from the King his master, came to him for protection against the insults of some of the mob in *Athens*, and offered him two cups full of *Darius's*: *Cimon* asked him smilingly, *Whether he would have him to be his mercenary, or his friend?* He replied, *His friend.* *Why then,* says he, *take away your money: For as such, I presume it is at my service, whenever I shall have occasion for it; and when I have, I'll send to you.* He had great good-nature and humanity, and a very extensive charity. He lived hospitably and plentifully, but not profusely. His table and his gardens were open to all without distinction; and this without ostentation, or any view of ingratiating himself with the people: For he sided with the nobility. But he chose to live well with every body; and if he had any political view in obliging the lower rank of the citizens, it was, by these acts of beneficence, to restrain a spirit of faction, which he saw was breaking in upon the constitution.

Soon after these transactions abroad, happened a quarrel about the temple at *Delphi*, from whence it was called the *holy war*. The *Lacedæmonians* taking it from the *Phocians*, who had got possession of it, gave it up to the inhabitants: But immediately upon their departure, *Pericles* came with a body of *Athe-*

The battle
at Coro-
nea.

nians, and put the *Phocians* in again. And now the *Bæotians* beginning to revolt, the *Athenians* seized several of their towns, and garrisoned them: But the *Bæotians* being joined by their neighbours, surprized them in their return, and at *Coronea* cut off the greatest part of their forces, with *Tolmides* their General, and took the rest prisoners; to redeem whom, the *Athenians* were forced to restore them to their country, and liberty. As the event of this action served mightily to raise the peoples esteem of *Pericles*, who had used his utmost effort to dissuade *Tolmides* from it, as a rash enterprize, and ill-timed; so it encouraged the *Eubæans* to make head: And *Pericles* was no sooner landed in the island to chastise them, but news came, that *Megara* had also revolted; and that the *Lacedæmonians* were harrassing the borders of *Attica*. Upon which he quitted this war to attend that which threatened at home: Where, instead of putting it to the issue of a battle, he practised with *Plistoanax* the *Spartan* King, and by the means of *Cleandrides* (whom the *Ephori* had sent with him by reason of his youth, as his assistant) bought him off. *Pericles* in giving up his accounts of this expedition, had set down a disbursement of ten talents, as laid out upon a necessary occasion; and the people, without any further inquiry, freely allowed of it. It is also said, that he had his yearly pensioners in *Sparta*; and that he constantly sent the
same

same sum for the same secret service: By which means the war was kept off, until the *Athenians* were provided. It is said, the *Spartans* fined their King in such a sum, that not being able to pay it, he quitted his country; and his counsellor, who had fled for it, was sentenced to death. However *Attica* being freed, *Pericles* repairs again to *Eubæa*; and having reduced the whole island, banished the inhabitants of *Hestiaea*, for having killed the men on board an *Attick* ship they had taken, and in their room brought in a colony of his own citizens. All parties being rather tired than satisfied with this variety of fortune, began to hearken to a peace, which was at last concluded between *Athens* and *Sparta* for thirty years, the allies of both sides being included. So that the *Athenians* were forced to evacuate most of the towns they had garrisoned: and it was further provided, that whatever city had not yet declared, should be at liberty to join with either side, as occasion should serve. At the same time *Diodorus* observes, there was a general peace in all parts.

A general peace.

A. M.
3557.
Olymp.
83. 2.

During this interval, it may not be improper to take a survey of *Athens*; where *Pericles* was still improving his interest with the people. But as they found *Cimon's* death had put him in a capacity of carrying his designs further than they could allow of, they set up *Thucydides* against him, a man sober and discreet,

A view of affairs under Peri-

cles.

and related to *Cimon*. And though he was not so professed a soldier as he, he was better versed in the courts of law, and business of state, and in that respect a more suitable match for his competitor. He having severed out the best sort of men, who before passed undistinguished among the multitude, formed them into a body, which passed under the name of *The few*, or the *Great ones*, in opposition to the *Commons*. And though this distinction could not but create some disturbances, it served however as a counterpose to the state in general, which apprehended less from the contention of two established parties, than from the uncontrolled power of one man. *Pericles* in the mean while managed his affairs with such nicety, that he tempered all his actions with an air of greater advantage to the state, than himself. Scch was his sending sixty gallies yearly, with a proportionable number of the citizens on board them, as a *Nursery* for seamen. Such was his planting another part of them in the late conquests, and dividing the lands among them by lot. As by these methods he awed both the enemies and allies of *Athens*, so he provided for the necessitous, and had a further end in discharging the city of the idle, and consequently the most meddling, and inquisitive part of the people. Then to cajole, and amuse those who were left, he entertained them with public shews, feasts, and
other

other solemnities. And to keep them generally employed, and make some shew of the vast sums he expended in these projects, he set to beautifying the city far beyond what his predecessors had attempted. He gave such encouragement, as produced a strange sort of emulation in all kinds of artists: So that *Athens* on a sudden became *one continued ornament*, As a specimen of the rest, he restored and enlarged the *Parthenion*, or temple of *Minerva* burnt by the *Persians*; which is said to be even at this day, both for matter and art, the most beautiful piece of antiquity remaining in the world. It was from this time, that *Athens* came to be so much admired by strangers, and envied by her neighbours: And this politeness, pomp, and luxury in building, seems to have laid the foundation of the same excess, to which she soon after arrived in other things. But *Pericles* hereby gave occasion to his enemies, to reproach him with squandering away the money, which was given for the maintenance of the war. They complained in the popular assemblies, *That it was what they could not answer either to themselves, or their allies; that they had no pretence for removing the bank of Greece from Delos, but to secure it from the Barbarians; and that he had broke the neck of that excuse, by diverting it to other uses.* *Pericles* urged in defence of himself and the state, *That they were no way accountable to their confederates,*

federates, who did not so much as set out ship, man, or horse, for the service, whilst they were continually exposing themselves in their defence: That as for the money, it was not theirs who gave, but theirs who received it, so long as they performed the conditions, upon which they received it. He added further, That it was fit the handicraftsmen should have their share in the public money, and yet that they should do something for it; and that since they were sufficiently stored with provisions for the war, they might very fairly convert the overplus to the use and ornament of the city. This salved the business for the present. And when at another time Thucydides's party was railing at him upon the same account, he put the question to the people, Whether they thought he had laid out too much? They told him, Yes. Well then, says he, let it all go upon my account, and accordingly I will make the inscriptions upon the temples, and other public buildings in my own name. Whether they were struck with the greatness of his spirit in this reply, or that they envied him the glory of the works, they unanimously bid him go on, and finish them at the public charge.

The Samian expedition.

The first new disturbance happened six years after the peace, between the Samians and Milesians, about Priene a city of Ionia: Wherein the latter being worsted, applied themselves to the Athenians; who accordingly interested them-

themselves in the quarrel, being also encouraged to it by a disgusted party of the *Samians* themselves. *Pericles* appeared so particularly warm in it, that the state took notice of it; and the rather, because what he did, was thought to be at the instigation of *Aspasia* a *Milesian* mistress of his. He manned out forty galleys, and made a descent upon *Samos*; where breaking up the *Oligarchy*, he established a *Democracy* after the *Athenian* model; then taking hostages, transported them to *Lemnos*, and leaving a garrison in *Samos*, returned home. In the mean while several of the citizens, who had fled to the continent upon the change of their government, betook themselves to *Pissuthnes* the *Persian* Governor of *Sardis*, and at the same time holding correspondence with some of the leading men in *Samos*, entered it by night with seven hundred auxiliaries: Where they put all to the sword, who opposed them; and having got their hostages privately conveyed from *Lemnos*, delivered up the *Athenian* garrison to *Pissuthnes*; then drew *Byzantium* into their alliance, and renewed the war with the *Milesians*.

Pericles having notice of this surprise, put to sea again with sixty sail: With forty-four of them he fell in with the enemy, and obtained a signal victory, having taken, sunk, and routed the whole *Samian* fleet consisting of seventy sail, twenty of which were men of war. Having by this means made himself master of the

Samos reduced.

A. M.

3564.

Olymp.

85. 1.

the port, he pursued his victory by land, and blocked up the city. But instead of pressing the siege, he went with a fresh supply of ships in quest of the *Phœnician* fleet, which he heard was coming to the relief of the besieged; who, in the mean time, finding great detachments drawn off, made a successful sally, and recovered the harbour; so that having an open sea, they imported all their necessary provisions. But *Pericles* being returned with still greater supplies from home, which were also augmented by a fleet of *Cbians* and *Lesbians*, he hemmed them in with a wall, and made use of battering engines: So that with small loss he carried the town in the ninth month of the siege, obliging them to demolish their walls, deliver up their shipping, pay a good fine towards the charge of the war, and give hostages for security. This happened about the beginning of the eighty-fifth *Olympiad*; from which time, until the twentieth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, *Samos* continued in alliance with *Athens*, and under the popular government. The war being over, *Byzantium* also returned to its former obedience. This was the chief of *Pericles*'s military exploits; and he could not help valuing himself upon it so far, as to say, *He had in nine months done as much against the chief city of Ionia, as Agamemnon did in ten years against Troy.* The truth is, he met with more hazard and difficulty, than he was aware

aware of, the *Samians* being arrived to that power by sea, that they were within very little of wresting the dominion of it out of the *Athenians* hands.

The next commotions were about two years after at *Epidamnus*, and require a distinct relation, as they give light to the sequel of the story, and are the common reputed grounds of that flame, which was kindled in all *Greece*. *Epidamnus*, afterwards known by the name of *Dyrrbachium*, was a colony of the *Corcyraeans*; which growing first rich, and then factious, banished the chief of her citizens. The exiles joining with the *Illyrians* their neighbours, brought the *Epidamnians* so low, that they were forced to send to *Corcyra* their mother city for assistance; which rejecting their request, the oracle directed them to the *Corinthians*, as their original founders. For as *Corcyra* was their founder, so *Corinth* was the *Corcyraeans*; and *Phalius* of the posterity of *Hercules*, who led the colony into *Epidamnus*, was himself a *Corinthian*, and carried several of his countrymen with him. Accordingly upon their giving up themselves, and their city to them, they took them under their protection, but not more out of pity to them, than out of a pique to *Corcyra*; whose wealth and naval power, wherein she was little inferior to any state in *Greece*, had made her insolent, so as to throw off all manner of dependence on them, even

*Stirs at
Epidam-
nus.*

to the common marks of acknowledgment, due from a colony to its *Metropolis*. The *Corinthians* having sent some new inhabitants to *Epidamnus*, with a garrison to secure them, the *Corcyraeans* resented it as interposing in their affairs; and going with a fleet to *Epidamnus*, commanded the citizens to receive their exiles, and expel the *Corinthians*; and upon their positive refusal, blocked them up. In the meantime, when they found the *Corinthians* preparing to relieve them, they offered to refer it to any indifferent city of *Peloponnesus*, as to the right of the colony. But the *Corinthians* resolving to humble them, sent a fleet of seventy-five gallies, with two thousand soldiers on board them. The *Corcyraeans* had an hundred and twenty sail; forty of which being left to carry on the siege; they made up to them with the rest near the promontory of *Aëgium*, and defeated them: And to make it a complete victory, *Epidamnus* was surrendered up to them the same day.

Being now masters of those seas, they infested the other colonies, and confederates of *Corinth*. But the summer following, the *Corinthians* made very great preparations, in order to revenge this disgrace: Which the others having notice of, laid their case before the *Athenians*, insisting upon the article of their late treaty with the *Peloponnesians*, which gave them leave to take any state, that had not been

engaged, into their alliance. The *Corinthians* at the same time put in their remonstrances: And after a full hearing on both sides, and two assemblies of the people, they concluded *Corcyra* was a place of too great importance, in regard both of its own strength, and as it was a convenient pass into *Italy*, and *Sicily*, to let it be an accession to *Corinth*. Yet, as on the other hand, they were tender of violating the peace, they made only a defensive league with it, giving their officers in charge to decline the fight, unless the *Corcyraeans*, or they were first attacked. Accordingly they voted an aid of ten galleys: But the sending so small a squadron was looked upon rather as an hardship upon *Lacedaemonius* the son of *Cimon*, who commanded it, than a relief to *Corcyra*; and as it stuck chiefly upon *Pericles*, who did all he could to hinder the rise of *Cimon's* family, he was forced to procure a new supply; but it came too late to do much service. The *Corinthians* putting to sea with ninety ships of their own, and sixty of their allies, the *Corcyraeans* met them betwixt their island, and the continent of *Epirus*, with a hundred and twenty of their own, and the *Athenians*. As this was the greatest number, that had hitherto been engaged of the *Grecians* among themselves, so the fight was long and obstinate, but artless, and confused, and rather desperate, than decisive. For though the *Corcyraeans* lost seventy sail
for

*The fight
between
the Cor-
cyraeans,
and Co-
rinthians.*

for thirty of the enemy, and a hundred prisoners; yet as, upon the arrival of twenty sail more from *Athens*, they kept the sea, recovered a great part of their wreck, and dead bodies, and made another offer of battle, which war not accepted, this made the claim of victory so equal, that both sides erected trophies. Whatever advantage the *Corinthians* had, they did not care to pursue it; so that being content to leave *Corcyra*, rather safe than victorious, they returned home, having, in their passage, taken *Anactorium* a town in the bay of *Ambracia*. But they complained loudly of the *Athenians*, as having violated the treaty, in which they were comprised with the *Spartans*: And this was the first pretence of the general war which followed. What they called the breaking of the peace, the *Athenians* termed only assisting their confederates: But they did not depend much upon the nicety of this distinction; and finding it must come to an open rupture, thought it the wisest course to be beforehand with them.

*The first
grounds of
the Peloponnesian
war.*

Accordingly they sent to the inhabitants of *Potidea*, a town in the *Isthmus* of *Pallene* a *Corinthian* colony, but tributary to *Athens*, to demolish their walls towards *Pallene*, to give hostages, to expel their magistrates sent yearly to them from *Corinth*, and to receive no more of them for the future. They had first recourse to entreaties, that nothing of extre-

mity

mity might be put upon them: But when they could get no abatement of these terms, they went with the *Corinthian* ambassadors to *Sparta*, and obtained an assurance, that, in case the *Athenians* made war upon them, the *Lacedæmonians* would enter *Attica* with an army. They had further encouragement from *Perdiccas* the *Macedonian* King, who having at that time a quarrel with the *Athenians* for assisting his brothers against him, procured several neighbouring places of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, to join with them in a general revolt. Besides these home alliances, they had two thousand men sent them from *Corinth* under *Aristaeus*. However the *Athenians* went on with their designs, having before sent orders to the captains of the thirty gallies they had in those parts, to see their commands executed upon *Potidæa*, and to have a watchful eye upon its neighbours. But being too weak to deal with *Perdiccas*, and the revolted cities at the same time, they received a supply of forty gallies, with two thousand men under the conduct of *Callias*. The forces on both sides being joined, a battle ensued, wherein one of the *Athenian* wings was worsted by the *Corinthians*, but in other parts they routed *Perdiccas*; which *Aristaeus* the *Corinthian* General perceiving, gave over the pursuit, and breaking through the ranks, threw himself into *Potidæa*. The *Athenians* in this action lost but an hundred and

Potidæa,
and other
places re-
volt.

Potidæa
besieged.

fifty men, amongst whom was *Callias*, and the enemy scarce double that number. However it was a victory on the *Athenian* side; who having soon after received a fresh supply of sixteen hundred men under the command of *Phormio*, blocked up *Potidæa* by sea and land. As the business of *Corcyra* was urged against the *Athenians*, so was this of *Potidæa* against the *Peloponnesians*; and may be looked upon as the second pretence for the war, inasmuch as they had incited that, and other towns to throw off their dependence on *Athens*.

The noise of this siege brought the *Corinthian* ambassadors to *Sparta*; where they and all other states, which had any injustice to charge the *Athenians* with, had free liberty of declaring their grievances. *Ægina* complained of being oppressed contrary to the liberty allowed by her last agreement with *Athens*; *Megara* of being prohibited the freedom of the *Athenian* ports, and markets. And when enough had been said to prepare the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Corinthians* made a long speech to them; wherein taking the justice of their resentment for granted, they endeavoured chiefly to rouse them into a sense of the common danger of *Peloponnesus*, so far as to charge them with being selfish, and supine, and not acting up to the reputation they had formerly acquired; and that in short, *If they would not take this opportunity of vindicating themselves, and their allies,*

allies, they must be forced to have recourse to those that would. Some Athenian Ambassadors, who were then at *Sparta* upon other business, desired they might have leave to exceed their commission so far, as to refute what envy and prejudice had suggested against their fellow-citizens. They began with a recapitulation of the *Persian* wars; wherein the whole burden in a manner lying upon them, both as to defeating the enemy, and protecting their allies, they shewed by what necessary and almost unavoidable steps, the chief power was devolved upon them; *That having received that power as the reward of their virtue, they thought themselves obliged to maintain it; that this was not to be done without some proportionable force, and yet that they had employed no more, than was absolutely necessary in such cases.* They desired the *Lacedæmonians* not to entertain any unjust suspicions of them; and to be very well advised before they entered upon a war of the last importance; for that *Whoever should begin with the Athenians, would certainly find them ready to retaliate.* The *Lacedæmonians*, after a full and open hearing, came to a close debate among themselves; wherein it was generally agreed, that the peace was broke, and that the *Athenians* were the aggressors: The dispute was, whether they should immediately declare war. *Archidamus* one of their Kings, and a man of prudence and temper, told them, *They were not*

War de-
creed at
Sparta.

at this time a match for Athens; and endeavoured to dissuade them not so much from the war in general, as from rushing into it thoughtless, and unprovided. But *Sthenelaides* one of the *Ephori* urged the contrary, *That when once they had received an injury, they ought not to deliberate, but forthwith to proceed to action, and revenge it.* And accordingly war was decreed, and the confederates made acquainted with their resolution.

Whilst they were making preparations, wherein they spent almost a year, the *Lacedæmonians*, to make the war appear more specious on their side, sent several embassies to expostulate with the *Athenians*. They began with the old business of *Cylon*; which was levelled against *Pericles* their mortal enemy, whose relations by his mother's side were said to be tainted with that pollution. But he charged them with the same guilt in the death of *Pausanias*, and some of their *Helots*, who had taken sanctuary in the temple. Then they required them to raise the siege of *Potidæa*; to permit *Ægina* to be governed by its own laws; and to revoke the decree against the *Megaraeans*; and insisted so much upon this latter, that they seemed to lay the whole stress of the war upon it. Receiving no satisfactory answer to these proposals, they made another more general demand, *That they should set free all the Grecian cities, which had any dependence*

dence on them. Which as it was in effect confining their jurisdiction within their own walls, they could not expect they would consent to it: However it answered their design, which was only to amuse them, and gain time. The Athenians, upon this last message, assembled the people, in order to send a peremptory answer once for all. The matter was canvassed long, and with great variety of opinions; until at last it was fixed by *Pericles*, who opposed their demands with a great deal of warmth, and artifice, shewing, *That though some of them were not in themselves sufficient grounds for a war, yet that the consequence of their concession even in trifles, when it was extorted from them with an air of command, would be, to have still more imposed upon them: That as to the success, they might promise themselves a considerable share from the many different interests of the confederates, whereby their counsels being divided, they would never come to any sudden resolution, and that if they could, yet their want of money would keep them from putting it in execution. That as to themselves, their shipping would enable them to give powerful diversions, by making frequent descents: And because their strength consisted chiefly in islands, having only Attica, that lay open to the depredations of the enemy, they could not sustain so great losses by land. He concluded with The absolute necessity there was of a war; and that the more chearfully they undertook it, the*

easier it would be dispatched: That as the greatest honours had generally accrued to their state out of the greatest extremities, this might serve to animate them in its defence, so as not to transmit it less glorious to their posterity, than they had received it from their ancestors. These reasons were readily assented to by the people; who, to give some colour to their proceedings, sent a very plausible answer drawn up by Pericles to this effect, That they would open their ports and markets to the Megareans, if the Lacedæmonians would allow the Athenians, and their allies residing in Sparta, the privileges of their own subjects: That they would restore the cities to the same degrees of liberty, they enjoyed when the league was made, provided also, that they would do the like to the cities under their jurisdiction, and not oblige them to conform to the model of their government; and also, That they desired to adjust these differences by treaty, as being unwilling to begin a war, but resolved to defend themselves against those that did.

The more immediate causes of the Peloponnesian war.

Having mentioned the pretended grounds of the quarrel, with the formal proceedings on both sides, it may not be amiss to observe, that *Pericles* was personally interested in promoting this war, insomuch that some have charged him as the sole author of it. It is certain, he was vastly indebted to the state, which had often threatened calling him to account: So that notwithstanding his great power in the city, he thought

thought it too precarious, to screen him against the continual clamours about the public money. This private storm he thought was not to be diverted, but by a public one; and therefore to take the people off from their enquiries, and to make his assistance necessary, he involved them in this war. It is said further, that he took the first hint of it from his nephew *Alcibiades*; who seeing him one day very pensive and melancholy, asked him the reason of it. He told him, *He was considering how to make up his accounts to the state. You were better consider,* replies the youth, *how to avoid being accountable.* This was undoubtedly a strong motive with *Pericles* in inflaming the quarrel, when once it was on foot: But for the war itself, it was what must have broke out of course about this time, without any particular incendiary. For the true cause of it was the power of *Athens*; and the seeds of it were laid from the time of the battle at *Platea*. That day so glorious to *Greece*, became fatal to her in the consequence, by dissolving that subordination *Athens* bore to *Sparta*, and raising eternal jealousies betwixt the two states. *Athens* fired with the success of the victories against the *Persian*, the chief honour of which she took to herself, first stood upon equality with *Sparta*, and then carried her pretensions a great deal higher. She soon affected a precedency; drew over to her side the greatest part of the

allies; debated, and decided whatever concerned the general welfare; assumed to herself the prerogative of rewards and punishments; and, in a word, set up for the *sovereign Umpire of Greece*. The *Athenians* had indeed a very fair title to the command at sea; and *Sparta* was not very unwilling to resign it to them; But they would be absolute in all. They thought, since they had delivered *Greece* from the insults of the *Barbarians*, they had a right to oppress her in their turn. They roughly treated the *Grecians* cities, of which they called themselves the *Protectors*. If a neighbour offended them never so little, he soon felt the weight of all their anger; whence grew that proverb recited by *Aristotle*, *An Athenian Neighbourhood*. They rendered themselves odious not only to their neighbours, but also to part of *Thrace*, and the isles of the *Ægean* sea, which were subject to their laws, but impatiently bore that yoke, which grew every day more insupportable. Thus did *Athens* manage herself for above forty years: All which time the *Spartans* made but faint attempts to humble, or repress their rivals. Their method, when any injured state appealed to them, was to refer them to *Athens*, that, by engaging her in the quarrel, they might weaken, and dissolve her power, and yet not at their own expence. But the effect was so far from answering what they proposed, that it served rather to fix and heighten

heighten her esteem, or at least her authority. *Pericles* made the city still more formidable to the other commonwealths, by their several embassies he caused it to depute, either upon its real or pretended interests; and improved these negotiations into a great design of summoning all *Greece* to *Athens*, in order to enter into a more strict confederacy against the *Persian*. Which was such a distinguishing mark of pre-eminence, as the *Athenians* had never before assumed to themselves: And the *Lacedæmonians* could not but resent it, when they found they were to be convened before them, like the rest of their tributaries. Whatever they had hitherto connived at, they did not care to testify their submission, and dependence in so solemn a manner: And though the thing did not take effect, it served however to awaken them into a sense of the necessity there was, of putting a stop to their career. So that upon this, and the repeated complaints of several cities, they found there was no way left, but to make a formal declaration of war. In a word, the two states were thoroughly exasperated by a long emulation; and as they were both arrived to their most flourishing period, this was a dispute betwixt them for the *Empire* of *Greece*, the pretence for which was, *preserving the balance and protecting their confederates*.

About the time of these commotions, flourished *Meton* the astronomer of *Athens*; who *Meton*.
found

found out that notable period of nineteen years, in which space all the different mutations of the sun and moon are completed, and they begin again to move from the same point of the *Zodiack*. This became a standard among the ancients in calculating the full and new moons; and the discovery was received with such applause by the *Athenians*, that they would have it writ in *golden letters* in the most public place of the city. From hence came the title of the *Golden Number*; which was handed down from the *Grecians* to the *Romans*, and from them to us *Christians*. But some will not allow *Meton* to have been the author of this *Cycle*: *Livy* particularly attributes the invention of it to *Numa Pompilius*. It was also about this time that *Pindar* died, who was born at *Thebes* about the sixty-fourth *Olympiad*. The manner of his death is related, that having prayed to the gods to give him the most desirable thing in life, he died suddenly, leaning his head upon a boy whom he loved. His writings have given us a standard of the greatest elevation and transport, to which it is possible for poetry to be advanced. There is something so vast in his designs, so strong and lively in his thoughts, and so pompous and daring in his expressions and measures, that it requires scarce less attention to read him, than to imitate others. For which reasons his muse has been censured as too unbridled

bridled and irregular. But the design of 'an *Ode* being not so much to inform our judgment, as to raise our fancy, this *irregularity* is not the least of his beauties. It is agreeable to the rapture the poet feels; his spirits are too much in a ferment, and his fancy too much upon the wing, to stay for words to express himself methodically. It is the boldest sort of painting; he gives a masterly touch here and there, and takes the likeness of his *Hero* in general, though he does not finish the features. Thus it is, that he has triumphed over art so successfully, as to gain the title of a perfect *Master of the Sublime*, and *Prince of the Lyrick Poets*. It can be no disadvantage to his character, to mention his contemporary *Bacchylides*, since in comparison of him, he deserves no higher a title than the *Crow*, as *Pindar* calls him, when he makes himself the *Eagle* soaring above him.

Bacchylides.



C H A P. V.

From the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war, to the peace concluded between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* for fifty years.

Containing the space of 10 years.

*The war
breaks out.
A. M.
3572.
Olymp.
87. 1.*

THE *Athenians* receiving no answer to their last proposals, thought of nothing but war; which accordingly broke out with the surprising of *Plataea* by three hundred *Thebans*, who were let in by a party of the town, that joined in the conspiracy, to bring it over to the common interest of *Bæotia*. But the generality of the townsmen who were well-affected to the *Athenians*, made head against them, and by the advantage of the night so over-powered them, that being unable to defend what they had taken, they were put to the sword. The *Athenians* sent a party to the relief of the town; which being recovered before they came, they were left in it as a garrison. This action happened in the fifteenth year of the peace, being the first of the eighty-seventh *Olympiad*, and the 3572d year of the world.

Thus

Thus the league being manifestly dissolved, *The alli-
ances on
both sides* both sides employed their utmost diligence in strengthening their alliances. The *Lacedæmo-
nians* secured all *Peloponnesus*, except the *Argives* and *Achæans* who stood neuter; though amongst these latter, *Pellene* declared for them in the beginning, and the rest came in afterwards. They had also without the *Isthmus*, the *Mega-
reans*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bæotians*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians*, and *Anaëtorians*: All which were allotted their several proportions, some of horse, others of foot, and the rest of shipping, of which they proposed to have five hundred sail, besides what they could procure out of *Italy* and *Sicily*. On the *Athenians* side were the *Cbians*, *Lesbians*, *Plateans*, *Messenians*, inhabiting *Naupactus*, most of the *Acarnanians*, with the *Corcyreans* and *Zacynthians*, besides great part of the *Asiatick Grecians*, particularly those on the sea-coast, several towns of *Thrace*, with most of the lesser islands, and tributary cities in general. Of these, *Cbios*, *Lesbos*, and *Corcyra*, furnished shipping, the rest men, and money. So eager were both sides in the prosecution of the war, that they had recourse to the *Barbarians* for assistance against each other, and sent severally as suppliants to the King of *Persia*, against whom they were so lately united. Thus was all *Greece* in a manner drawn into the quarrel, and divided as the states were differently affected: Of which the greatest part embraced
the

the *Lacedæmonian* interest, as the cause of justice, and liberty; the rest being detained by the *Athenians* more out of fear than affection. But whatever the latter wanted in numbers, was sufficiently made up to them in money, shipping, and all necessary provisions, and in the absolute power they had over their confederates.

The *Lacedæmonians* after the business of *Plataea*, published their intentions of invading *Attica*; in order to which, two thirds of the confederate cities, making up sixty thousand men, met at the *Isthmus*: Where *Archidamus*, as General of the expedition, told them, *The eyes and hearts of all Greece were upon them; that whatever they might reasonably promise themselves from their numbers, they ought not only to allow room for accidents, but to consider further how powerful, and desperate an enemy they had to deal with; that though it was generally a maxim to push on boldly in an enemy's country; yet they should proceed here with more than ordinary caution, and guard every one his respective post.* Thus having prepared his men, he sent once more to the *Athenians*, to see if they would abate any thing of their former obstinacy. But they resolved not to treat with the enemy in this threatening posture: So that the messenger was dismissed without hearing, and said at his departure, *From this day may Greece date her miseries.* *Pericles* had a notion, that *Archidamus*, out of respect

respect to him, (as indeed there was something of a friendship founded upon the right of hospitality betwixt them) would spare his lands, in the general havock he would make of every thing else in the country; and thinking it would rather do him an injury, in laying him open to the suspicion and ill-will of his fellow-citizens, he declared to them, *That if the enemy forebore his estate, he would give it to the public..* He also ordered those who were dispersed in the villages, to retire with their effects into the city, as the only place of security; and encouraged them by a long detail of their provisions; as *That they had six hundred talents yearly tribute, besides other revenues; that they had yet left in the castle six thousand talents, besides great quantities of money and plate belonging to the temples, which they might use in cases of extremity, provided they made restitution when the war was over: That they had between thirty and forty thousand men, three hundred gallies and other necessaries, which, if rightly applied, would easily make them superior.* The people were so well satisfied with this account of their affairs, that they immediately set to rigging out their fleet, and summoning their confederates.

But whilst they were making these necessary preparations, the *Peloponnesian* army entered *Attica* by *Oenoe* the first frontier garrison towards *Boeotia*; from whence *Archidamus*, after a fruit-

Olymp.
87. 2.
The Peloponnesians invaded Attica.

a fruitless attempt to storm the place, was forced to march further into the country. For he was charged with having been too remiss from the beginning; and particularly that by this last delay, he had given the people of *Attica* time to gather themselves into a body, who otherwise must have fell into their hands. So that whether he was a favourer of the *Athenians* or no, it was not doubted, but he protracted his march, in hopes they would yet come to some sort of terms. But hearing nothing from them, he came and posted himself at the *Acharnae* the greatest borough-town in *Attica*, and but seven miles from *Athens*. The alarm was no sooner got into the city, but the people were ready to mutiny against *Pericles*, for not leading them into the field. He thought it by no means adviseable; and therefore would not so much as convene them, lest the surprise should make them resolve upon any thing that was rash, or extravagant: In-somuch that *Cleon*, who was endeavouring to supplant him in his interest with the people, reproached him with downright cowardice. He chose rather to put up every thing, than to venture a sally: But to shew, that he did not neglect his charge, he shut up the city-gates; placed sufficient guards at all the posts about it; sent out parties of horse to keep the enemy at a distance, one of which, in a skirmish with the *Bæotians*, was repulsed with loss;
and

and at the same time ordered out an hundred gallies to infest the coasts of *Peloponnesus*. *Archidamus* finding his provisions fail, and that he could not bring the *Athenians* to a battle, broke up his camp at *Acharnæ*, and having ravaged the country about it, returned home; and the rather because the *Athenian* fleet, in conjunction with the allies, was likely to make successful descents. They landed in *Laconia*, and had taken *Methone*, if *Brasidas* a *Spartan* had not thrown himself into the town with a supply, and beat them back to their ships: For which service he was the first in this war, who received public applause at *Sparta*. From thence coasting along, they put in at *Elis*, where they harrassed the country, plundered *Pheia*, and defeated those who opposed them. About the same time another squadron of thirty gallies, which was sent as a guard to *Eubœa*, had the like success against the *Locri Opuntii*. Upon the enemies quitting *Attica*, the *Athenians* decreed, that an hundred of the best gallies, and a thousand talents should be set apart in case of any invasion by sea; and made it capital for any man to motion the diverting either the ships, or money to any other use. They also took occasion to displace the *Æginetans*, upon pretence that they principally occasioned the war: But the truth is, they found this island lay very convenient for their affairs, and wanted it to ease their

own city, which was prodigiously overstocked with inhabitants. Then they drew over to their alliance *Sitalces* King of *Thrace*, and *Perdiccas* of *Macedonia*, in order to proceed with more vigour in those parts, especially against *Potidæa*. The fleet still cruising about, the forces on board it took several towns, with the whole island of *Cephalenia* without opposition, and returned home. Thus the *Athenians* being left at liberty to act offensively by land as well as sea, invaded *Megaris* with their whole force, which made up the greatest army they ever had together in one place before. Having laid waste great part of the country, they returned: But constantly every year made the same incursions, until at last they got into their hands *Nisæa*, a strong haven with walls reaching up to the city of *Megara*. These were the principal transactions of the first campaign.

The funeral solemnities.

In the winter were solemnized the funerals of the first slain in the war. The manner of performing it, was to place the bodies in tents three days before the funeral, that their friends might come and pay their last respects to them. Upon the fourth day a coffin of cypress was sent, one from every tribe, to convey the bones of their own relations: After which went an empty covered hearse in memory of those, whose bodies could not be found. All these accompanied with the whole body of the people, were carried to be interred in the *Ceramicus*,

micus, which was the public burial-place for those who were slain in the wars. But they who died in the battle at *Marathon*, were more remarkably distinguished: They were buried in the place where they fell, and with their arms in their hands. The ceremony was concluded with one harangue in praise of them all; which task was at this time assigned to *Pericles*. The main scope of his speech, was to infuse courage into the living, by celebrating the memory of the dead, and setting before their eyes the glory of dying for their country with their swords in their hands, especially for a country so glorious in all respects, as was then the common-wealth of *Athens*. And however preposterous it might seem; for him who advised the war, to commemorate those who had lost their lives in it; yet probably, never man succeeded better in it; in-
somuch that his discourse upon this occasion is a standard in its kind, being looked upon as one of the most artificial and florid pieces of antiquity. He took occasion in this harangue, as he did in most of his others, to flatter the people. In displaying the grandeur of the common-wealth, he ascribed it chiefly to their prudence, their bravery and their discipline. And in extolling the happiness of their constitution, he told them, they were all alike free and independent; that they were governed only by the law, which extended equally to the

rich as well as the poor; and that the way to honours and preferment was open to all indifferently, according to their personal merit, without any distinction of birth or fortune. Thus ended the first year of the *Peloponnesian* war.

Olymp.
87. 3.

*A great
plague in
Athens.*

In the beginning of the next summer, *Archidamus* again invaded *Attica*, with the same number of men as before: At which time a terrible plague having travelled over most parts of the world, arrived at *Athens*, and took off all the flower of its armies both at home and abroad. It seized them with such violence, that they tumbled down one upon another, as they passed along the streets. It was also attended with such uncommon exhalations of venom and putrefaction, that the very beasts and birds of prey would not touch those who died of it: And in many of those who recovered, it left such a tincture of its malignancy, that it struck upon their senses; it effaced the notices and memory of all the passages of their lives, and they knew neither themselves, nor their nearest relations. The circumstances of this disease are described at large by *Thucydides*, who was sick of it himself: And he observes among other effects of it, that it introduced into the city a more licentious way of living. For the people at first had recourse to their gods, to avert that judgment: But finding they were all alike infected, whether they worshipped them

them or not, and that it was generally mortal, they abandoned themselves at once to despair and riot. For since they held their lives but, as it were, by the day, they were resolved to make the most of their time and money. The cause of it was generally imputed to *Pericles*, who by drawing such numbers into the city, was thought to have corrupted the very air. Yet though this was raging within, and the enemy wasting the country without, he was still in the same mind as before, that they ought not to put all their hopes upon the issue of a battle.

In the mean while he put to sea with an hundred gallies, and four thousand foot, and three hundred horse on board them; and being joined by fifty sail from *Chios*, and *Lesbos*, made an attempt upon *Epidaurus*, but miscarried: And having committed what spoil he could upon the coasts of *Peloponnesus*, returned home. However this proved a diversion to the *Peloponnesians*, who, partly to defend their territories, and partly for fear of the infection, quitted *Attica* after almost forty days incursion. The forces employed by *Pericles* were now sent into *Thrace*: But the plague swept off so many of them before *Potidæa*, that they did nothing considerable.

These fruitless expeditions served to incense, and terrify the people; who being almost crushed with the sword, pestilence, and depreda-

tions all at a time, began to clamour violently against *Pericles*, as the sole author of all their calamities; and in the mean while sent to make overtures at *Sparta*, but they were not accepted. *Pericles* finding them thus dispirited, assembled them, in order to encourage them to the war, by justifying his own management. But his harrangue to them, howsoever forcible by those masterly, and engaging strokes he gave it, had little effect upon their minds, who were sensible of nothing but their misfortunes.

*Pericles in
disgrace.*

It made some slight impression on them for the present, and they seemed well-disposed towards the war: But their fears and their ill-humour soon returning, they fined him in a great sum, and took away his command. However, when they found they could not do without him, he was some time after restored, and with a more absolute power than he had before.

The same summer *Cnemus* the *Spartan* Admiral put to sea with an hundred gallies, and made a descent upon *Zacynthus*: But the inhabitants continuing firm to the *Athenian* interest, he only ravaged the island, and returned. After which *Aristæus* the *Corinthian*, and some *Lacedæmonians* intending a voyage to *Persia*, to procure money of the King towards carrying on the war, went by the way to *Sitalces* King of *Thrace*, soliciting him to break with the *Athenians*, and march with his army to the relief of *Potidæa*. But the *Athenian* Ambassa-

dors prevailing with the King to deliver them up, they were sent from thence to *Athens*, and thrown into deep pits without any form of justice. This was said to be done in return to the *Lacedæmonians*, who had given the like treatment to some *Athenian* merchants taken off of *Peloponnesus*: But the design was laid more particularly against *Aristæus*, who was charged as the author of all the commotions in *Thrace*. This winter *Potidæa* was surrendered; and though the garrison was reduced to that extremity for want of provisions, that they eat one another, yet they obtained such tolerable terms, that the *Athenians*, who commanded there, were questioned for not making them prisoners at discretion. The *Athenians* planted a colony of their own in that city, after the siege of it had stood them in two thousand talents. This action concluded the second year of the war.

The *Peloponnesians* opened the third campaign with an attempt upon *Platæa*; whose inhabitants sent to expostulate with them, urging the privileges granted to them by *Pausanias*, when he defeated the *Persians* in their territory. But they could obtain nothing more than a suspension of arms, until they could send an account of their affairs to *Athens*; from whence they received such firm assurances of being relieved, that they sent word to *Archidamus*, *They were ready to undergo the last extremity of war,*

Olymp.
87. 4.

*Plataeae-
sieged.*

Since to renounce their confederacy with Athens was what they could never consent to. Upon which *Archidamus* invested the city, and raised an *Agger* or Mount, to command the walls. The *Plataeans* raised their wall in proportion; and at the same time by an hole at the bottom, drew great quantities of earth from the mount: Which being discovered, they improved the stratagem by carrying a mine to it from the town; so that still as the wall was heightened, the mount sunk; and for their further security, they run up another wall within. The *Peloponnesians* applied their engines of battery to the walls: But the defendants had several contrivances by beams let down with ropes, to evade the force of them. So that this method also proving ineffectual, they had recourse to fire; and by throwing in vast quantities of fagots, with brimstone, pitch, and such like combustible matter, they burnt great part of the town. But the flame being at last extinguished, they were forced to make a formal siege of it: In order to which they inclosed the city with a wall, which was fenced with a ditch on each side. But it being late in the year, they drew off the main of their army, leaving only the *Boeotians* with some others, to maintain their works, and keep the city blocked up. This is the first description we meet with of any thing like a regular siege among the *Grecians*; those which had hitherto

hitherto been carried on, being very artless, and consequently tedious, and expensive. Their common method, when they endeavoured to possess themselves of a town, was to attempt it by storm, surrounding it with their whole army, and attacking it in all quarters at once; and if this proved ineffectual, they either desisted from the enterprize, or only renewed the assault after the same rude manner. Not but they had a notion in the *Trojan* and *Theban* wars, of something like the *battering ram*, *scaling ladders*, and other engines; the invention whereof they very probably derived, with the rest of their knowledge, from the *Eastern* countries, where they seem to have been understood even in *Moses's* time, and made use of by several of the *Jewish* Kings. And if they did not receive the same improvement in *Greece*, proportionably to their other military discipline, it may be attributed chiefly to the aversion the *Lacedæmonians* expressed to this way of conquering, as not agreeable to their notions of a generous valour, which they made to consist only in pitched battles. But when they found the other *Grecian* cities would not follow their example, of leaving themselves open to all invaders without the defence of walls, they were better convinced of the inconveniencies, into which their ignorance in sieges was likely to betray them, and applied themselves to this necessary part of the service, in order to
put

put them upon a more equal foot with their neighbours. So that from the time of this war we may date the art of fortifying, and attacking.

Phormio
victorious
at sea.

During this siege, the *Athenians* were engaged with the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and the *Bottiaens* of *Macedonia*: But they being relieved from *Olynthus*, and other places, fought them, and overcame them, compelling them to retire with their broken forces to *Potidæa*, and from thence home to *Athens*. However this disgrace was soon revenged at sea by *Phormio* the *Athenian* Admiral; who lying before *Naupactus*, fell in with forty-seven *Peloponnesian* sail, with land forces on board them, bound upon an expedition against the *Acarnaniens*, took twelve, and dispersed the rest. The *Peloponnesians* having made great preparations, ventured upon another engagement; but by confusion and mismanagement, the advantage was again on the *Athenians* side. Before the fleets were laid up, *Cnemus*, *Brasidas*, and the other *Peloponnesian* Admirals resolved to make an attempt upon the *Piræus*, which was very slightly guarded, because the *Athenians* being masters at sea, were under no apprehensions on that side. In order to their design, they went over land to *Megara*, and at *Nisæa* the port-town launched forty ships: But their hearts failing them as to the enterprize of the *Piræus*, and the wind withal being contrary, they contented themselves

selves with falling upon three guard-ships, that lay at *Budorus* a promontory of *Salamis*: Having taken them, they entered *Salamis*, and plundered great part of the island. The *Athenians* discovered the beacons on fire; and this put them into a greater consternation, than any thing that had happened during the war: But when the *Peloponnesians* found they had taken the alarm, they retreated.

In the beginning of this winter, *Sitalces* King of *Thrace* made war against *Perdiccas* King of *Macedonia*, and wasted his country with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. The *Macedonians* were forced to shelter themselves within their towns; and this numerous army struck such a terror into the other neighbouring nations, that the *Grecians* themselves were afraid, they had called in such a confederate, as was likely to become their master. *Phormio* the *Athenian* Admiral having settled affairs in *Acarnania*, returned victorious with his spoils to *Athens*; and thus ended the third year of the war, with various success on both sides.

The loss of *Pericles* was none of the least misfortunes, that fell on *Athens* during this campaign. He died in the sixth month of the year of the plague, as *Plutarch* says; though it was after a lingering manner, more in the nature of a consumption. As he was drawing on, his friends, who sat by him, and thought him not sensible, were engaged in a discourse about his

*The death
of Pericles*

His character.

his virtue and authority, and the number of his victories, he having erected no less than nine trophies as commander in chief. He gave great attention to what passed, and made a sudden reply, *That he wondered they should value him so much upon those things, which fortune had made common to him with others; and pass by that which was of far greater moment, that none of his fellow-citizens had ever put on mourning upon his account.* And indeed it is very extraordinary, what is recorded of him, that one who was engaged in such a long variety of affairs, and had men of the most opposite tempers to deal with, *should never employ his power, or gratify his passion to any man's hurt; or never treat an enemy otherwise, than as one who in time might become a friend.* As to the public, it redounds particularly to his glory, that when he had foiled his rivals, and got the power intirely into his hands, he stopt just there, where others would have been most likely to proceed. But he was certainly of a great and generous spirit; he acted upon a principle of honour and equity, and seemed to value himself more upon leading the people of *Athens* by the force of his merit and eloquence, than by any thing of arbitrary sway: So that that power, which would otherwise have been branded with the name of tyranny, proved, as he managed it, the mildest, and yet the strongest support of the government. In his military conduct, however

ever warm he appeared in advising a war, yet when it came to action, he was very cautious and deliberate, not caring to engage, but where he could almost warrant the success. And this turned very much to his reputation, being interpreted as his tenderness of exposing his fellow-citizens: to whom he would often say, *That he for his part would do what he could, to make them immortal.* At another time, when he had much ado to restrain them from action, he told them, *They must not expect, that men, like trees, when they were cut off, would shoot up again.* In short, his experience had taught him to depend more upon conduct and stratagem, than an hardy valour. And though he had often been engaged in war, he made it chiefly subservient to his other designs, chusing it, not so much to make the *Athenians* terrible abroad, as great at home. His principal care and study, was to sit and direct at the helm; wherein he succeeded so well, that he held the administration for forty years; and that in the most flourishing time of the common-wealth. This long uncontrollable sway of his, is to be attributed to nothing more, than to his *art of speaking*; by which, like a rapid stream, he bore down every thing that opposed him, and triumphed over the peoples passions and affections, which *Plutarch* calls the *stops*, and *keys* of the soul, and which at that time in *Athens*, required an extraordinary skilful hand to touch them. The
in-

influence he had over the minds of his fellow-citizens, is said to have changed the very essence of the government; which, though it still retained the name of a *democracy*, was in effect, the rule of one principal man, through the power of his eloquence. Not but the force of his language was also supported by the opinion the people had of his integrity. That he was above all consideration of money, appears in nothing more, than that he made no addition to his private estate: And though he took upon him to dispose of prodigious sums of the public money, he laid it out chiefly to the advantage and ornament of the state; and whilst he kept it circulating, did not drain the channel, though he diverted the course. We may form a great *idea* of him even from the censure of those who seem to bear hardest upon him; *That the main of his character agreed with that of Pisistratus, only with this difference, that he maintained his tyranny with arms, but Pericles without them.* The loss of this great man appeared every day more considerable, when his successors, who were for the most part equal in merit, and rivals in dignity, wanting sufficient power to rein up the people with an absolute hand, were obliged to manage them more remissly, to sooth, and flatter them into obedience: And thus whilst every one was promoting his own interest, the care of the public was suspended.

About

About harvest time the *Peloponnesians* invaded *Attica* a third time; but having done little more than destroyed the corn, returned home. At the time of their incursions, all *Lesbos*, except *Metbymna*, revolted from the *Athenians*; who thinking what a considerable accession this would be to the enemy, pretended at first not to believe it, in hopes by that means to keep the inhabitants from declaring themselves. But when they found the greatest part of the island had thrown themselves into *Mitylene* their capital, in order to make further preparations, they manned out forty gallies to surprize them at a feast in honour of *Apollo*, where they were to be assembled without the city; which the *Lesbians* having notice of, prepared to receive them; and whilst they were parlying with the *Athenians*, sent to *Lacedæmon* for speedy relief. The *Spartans* referred the Ambassadors to the general meeting of the *Grecians* at the celebration of this *Olympiad*, where, after the solemnity was over, they entered into a long detail of their good intentions to the *Spartans*; and began with justifying themselves, *That they did not come to them as deserters and traitors to their friends and country. That their treaty with the Athenians extended no further, than to join with them against the Barbarians; but that the use they had made of it on their part, was to oppress their allies, and enslave Greece. That they had continued the Lesbians in their alliance,*

only

Olymp.
83. 1.

Lesbos re-
volts.

only to assist them in carrying on those designs ; and that, notwithstanding their present shew of moderation towards them, they had good reason to apprehend, they should in the end, fall a sacrifice to their ambition, and share the same fate with their neighbours. That upon these motives, they had quitted their engagements with Athens, and had declared themselves on the side of Sparta. That the doing it so suddenly, before they had made any preparations, might be considered more as an act of generosity in them, than of prudence : But that this ought to induce the Spartans to take them the more readily into their protection. That their succouring them in their present exigency, would encourage others to come in to them, and would take off the reproach they lay under, of abandoning those, who sued to them for protection. They added, That the Lesbians were capable of doing them great service, particularly by their shipping, which they so much wanted. And this, they told them, was the most seasonable opportunity of attacking the Athenians, when their forces were so much diminished by the war and pestilence, when their fleet was divided, and their treasury exhausted. These things were urged with so much reason, and insinuated with so much artifice by the Ambassadors, that the Lesbians were now easily admitted into the confederacy, though they had been denied it in the beginning of the war. Their ports being at this time blocked up by the Athenians, they had immediate supplies decreed

creed them: And another expedition into *Attica* was resolved on; in order to which, the *Spartans* were ready at the *Isthmus*. But their allies not coming up, and thirty *Athenian* ships at the same time harrassing the coast of *Peloponnesus*, they were forced to return. The *Mitylenians* in the mean while attempted *Metbymna*, but miscarried; and the *Athenians*, to prevent these excursions, sent fresh supplies, which blocked them up by land as well as sea. The *Athenians* had this year a great number of ships employed in different parts, amounting in the whole to two hundred and fifty sail: And though they had as many, or perhaps more in the beginning of the war; yet this fleet was the most compleat, and in the best order of any they had put to sea. But the charge of fitting it out, together with the soldiers pay, had so exhausted the public treasure, that they were forced to assess themselves, in order to carry on the siege of *Mitylene*. This tax amounted to two hundred talents, besides what they exacted from their confederates by way of tribute, which, though it was generally complied with, the *Carians* refused to pay, and *Lysicles*, who was sent to collect it, with most of his retinue, was killed by them. In the winter scarce any thing of moment happened, except that the *Plataeans* having been besieged all this while, and extremely pressed for want of provisions, above two hundred of them prepared ladders,

proportioning their length by the number and breadth of the bricks in the enemy's wall, and passing their works by favour of a stormy night, escaped to *Athens*.

Olymp.
88. 2.

Early in the spring the *Peloponnesians* fell again into *Attica*, under the conduct of *Cleomenes* uncle and guardian to *Pausanias* the young *Spartan* King, and destroyed every thing that had escaped them in their former incursions. *Alcidas*, at the same time went with forty gallees to the relief of *Mitylene*: But he loitered so long in cruising about *Peloponnesus*, that the *Lesbians* despaired of receiving any succours; and being otherwise distressed for want of provisions, *Salathus* the *Spartan* governor, who had hitherto kept them disarmed, now gave them arms, with an intent to make a sally. But instead of that, they threatened, that unless they who had corn, would bring it out, and divide it, they would make their composition, and deliver up the place to the enemy. The magistrates finding that they would not be controlled, and fearing lest they themselves should be excluded, did, by a general consent, treat with *Paches* the *Athenian* General, and surrendered to him in a manner at discretion. For the best terms they could obtain, were, that he should spare their lives until he should receive orders from *Athens* how to dispose of them. But the authors of the revolt expecting no mercy, fled to the altars, from whence they were

The Lesbians surrender at discretion.

were taken, and conveyed to *Tenedos*, until some further resolution should be taken concerning them. *Paches* in the mean while took in several other little places; and then sent the prisoners to *Athens*, where they were put to death, and with them *Salæthus*, though among other offers for his pardon, he promised to procure the raising the siege of *Platea*. Besides the execution of above a thousand *Lesbians* at *Athens*, a decree was made, and sent to *Mitylene* to do justice on the rest of the inhabitants, and to make slaves of the women and children. But the *Athenians* immediately after repenting of their cruelty, the matter came again the next day into debate: Where *Cleon*, who was grown extremely popular upon the death of *Pericles*, and was the chief author of this Decree, still persisted in his opinion, *That it was necessary to make an example of them*. He urged, *That if they, who were left to the quiet enjoyment of their own laws and liberty, and being islanders well provided with shipping, and therefore safe from any attempts of the enemy, were suffered to revolt without punishment, what would not the rest of their confederates attempt, who obeyed them purely by compulsion, and had reason to look upon Athens, as no better than a tyranny erected over them?* He told them, *That upon whatever grounds they valued their constitution, they ought not to trifle with their laws; for that ill ones well observed, were better than good ones,*

that were despised or neglected: That a well-meaning, and regular ignorance was preferable to a disorderly, and inconstant knowledge: And in short, that nothing was of more dangerous consequence to a state than pity. But Diodotus, who had before opposed him in this affair, prevailed with the people to countermand their orders, by sending another gally to *Mitylene*, which arrived just as they were going to be put in execution. However their shipping was seized; their walls razed, and a tenth part of their lands being dedicated to their gods, the rest was divided among the *Athenians*; who, instead of their yearly contribution, rented it out to them again.

Plataea
surrender-
ed.

The same summer *Nicias* the *Athenian* took, and fortified *Minoa* an island over-against *Megara* for the better security of those coasts. The *Plataeans* at last worn out with a long and vigorous defence, surrendered at discretion; and were kept until five men were deputed from *Sparta*, in the nature of judges, to proceed against them. But they, instead of exhibiting a formal accusation, only put this single question to them, *Whether they had done any service to the Lacedæmonians, and their confederates during this war?* They avoided answering directly, but urged their services at large, not only as to the common cause, but also to the *Lacedæmonians* in particular, when they were almost destroyed by the earthquake, and the rebellion

bellion of their *Helots*. That if they did not continue in the alliance, it was their own fault, since they first referred them to the Athenians, to whom they had ever since been obliged in honour, and justice to adhere. They pressed their case with a becoming gravity, without being arrogant, or dejected; and expostulated with them in very pathetic terms. Behold, said they, the monuments of your ancestors, to whom we annually pay the honours due to their memory. Will you now give up their ashes to their murderers? To the Thebans, who fought against them at Plataea? Will you enslave a country, wherein Greece recovered its liberty? Will you destroy the Temples of the gods, wherein the Grecians implored their protection and assistance against the Persians? And will you abolish the sacrifices which were instituted by their founders? They told them in short, That they had submitted themselves to them only, and not to the Thebans; and insisted on it, that if they were not inclined to shew them mercy, which as the common saviours and deliverers of the rest of Greece they had reason to expect from them, they ought at least to put them in the condition they were at the time of their surrendering, and not to leave them in the power of their mortal enemies. But the Thebans stuck so close to them, and turned their arguments so forcibly upon them, that the judges only repeated the same question to them severally, *Whether they had done any service to the Spartans, and their confederates*

during the war? And upon their answering, *They had not*, ordered them to be executed to the number of two hundred *Plateans*, and twenty-five *Athenians*. What the *Lacedæmonians* alledged to justify their proceedings, was, that they had proposed to the *Plateans* in the beginning of the war to stand neuter; and that this offer not being accepted, left them at liberty to treat them with the utmost severity. They were at the same time glad to take this opportunity of gratifying the *Thebans*; which the *Plateans* were so sensible of, that in their defence they reproached the *Spartans* with sacrificing their justice, to keep up the confederacy. *If you measure justice by your interest*, said they, *you will give us reason to believe your interest is dearer to you, than your glory*. And indeed it does not appear, that the *Lacedæmonians* still kept up to that rigorous principle of honour and equity, upon which so great a share of their merit was founded; but that, during the whole course of this war, they gave way to passion and interest, as much as any of their neighbours. It is true, the *Athenians* had just before set them a terrible example in the case of the *Lesbians*; and their proceeding in this summary way against the *Plateans*, seems to have been as well by way of reprisal, as to oblige the *Thebans*. *Athens* and *Sparta* were now thoroughly exasperated against each other. Both of them at the same time carried it with an
high

high hand to their confederates and dependents, and were very severe to such of them as deserted their service: Which was the more justifiable, because great industry was used to seduce and alienate them from their respective principals. The war was carried on more in this inveigling and undermining way, than in open fighting: And therefore in the course of it, they who were executed in cold blood as revolvers, were in some proportion equal to the number of those who fell by the sword. Besides this severe sentence, the women were also adjudged to slavery, the lands set to farm for ten years to the *Thebans*; and the next year the city was utterly demolished, and lay in ruins for many years.

Such was the fate of the *Platæans*, after they had continued ninety-three years in alliance with *Athens*; though they certainly deserved a much milder treatment, not only for their actual service against the *Persians*, but likewise for their having alienated their lands, and annexed them to *Attica*, because the oracle had advised *That the battle of Platæa should be fought on Athenian ground*. It was this generous instance of their zeal for the common cause, that had distinguished them so much from the rest of the confederates. They were, by a public decree, to be considered as an order of men set apart, in the nature of a priesthood, to solemnize the annual commemoration

of that victory, and to offer up prayers and sacrifices for the general safety and prosperity of *Greece*; and their persons were to be held sacred and inviolable. This they laid great stress upon, and made it a principal plea in their defence, terming themselves *sanctuary men*. But the *Spartans* could not forgive their long and steady adherence to *Athens*; and being further incensed against them by the *Thebans*, they shewed no regard to their past services, nor to the immunities they were to enjoy as the reward of them.

*A great
sedition at
Corcyra.*

The *Peloponnesians*, who went to the relief of *Lesbos*, finding the island lost beyond recovery, had thoughts of securing some town upon the coast of *Asia*, in order to draw *Ionian* over to the confederacy; or, if that project failed, to remove the seat of the war thither: But it being opposed by *Alcidas*, as too hazardous an undertaking, and *Paches* at the same time being in pursuit of them, they made the best of their way home. But before they put into harbour, hearing of a great sedition at *Corcyra*, they made thither, in hopes, by the division of the island, to become masters of it. They found the contest got to a great height, between the chief men, and the commons; the latter of which having called in the *Athenians* to their assistance, the *Lacedaemonians* took part with the magistracy; and beat the *Corcyraean*, and *Athenian* navy, but durst

durst not attempt the city, where the people had the better; who being still strengthened by the arrival of sixty sail more from *Athens*, committed the most horrible outrages, butchering one another at the altars, without distinction of age, or quality, sex, or blood. The city was one continued scene of murder; death was to be seen in all its shapes; and those who would have stood neuter, were made a sacrifice to both parties. Of all the factions and innovations, which had happened in *Greece*, this is the first instance of things being carried to the last extremity; insomuch, that a *Corcyraean sedition* came to be used proverbially. This example had also a fatal influence on several other cities, which, upon the slightest differences between the nobility and people, were immediately for calling in their respective patriots, the *Athenians* and *Spartans*, who, though they seemed to protect and assist them, were willing enough to let them worry and weaken one another, that they might be the less in a condition to intermeddle in the contest between these two republics for the sovereignty of the whole. With this view, they secretly encouraged these intestine commotions, as the best means of advancing their own affairs: And *Thucydides*, in this respect, compares the lesser states of *Greece* to little brooks, which serve chiefly to swell the current of the great rivers.

Sicily

Commoti-
ons in Si-
cily.

Sicily also at this time began to be in motion, upon a quarrel between *Syracuse*, and *Leontium*. These two cities formed their confederacies, in order to carry on a vigorous war: And the *Leontines*, upon a pretence of consanguinity, (they being originally *Ionians*) drew over the *Athenians* to their party. They were glad to have a footing in the island upon any terms, both to hinder the transporting of corn from thence to *Peloponnesus*, and to see if there were any possibility of subduing it for themselves. This was what they had an eye upon in *Pericles's* time, and what he seems particularly to have cautioned them against, when, in advising the *Peloponnesian* war, he grounded their certainty of success upon their not endeavouring to extend their conquests, or grasp at more than they were able to manage. However they sent thither but twenty gallies, which, in conjunction with ten more from *Rhegium* in *Italy*, harrassed the *Æolian* islands near *Sicily*. In the winter the plague, after some intermission, broke out afresh, and swept away such multitudes, that the *Athenians* suffered more by that, than by the war.

Olymp.
28. 3.

The *Peloponnesians* began the sixth campaign with preparations for another irruption into *Attica*, but were deterred from it by the frequent earthquakes, which happened in those parts. The *Athenians* at the same time set out two fleets, one of thirty sail under *Demosthenes*,
to

to cruise about *Peloponnesus*, the other of sixty, to make a descent upon the island *Melos*. *Nicias*, who commanded this latter, did nothing very considerable in *Melos*; from whence he made to the opposite continent, where being joined by those which were left in *Athens*, he defeated some straggling forces in *Bæotia*, and returned. *Demosthenes* invaded the *Ætolians*, at first with good success; but they having intelligence of his march, and being got into a body to receive him, he was routed, and lost the flower of his army. Being afraid to return home before he had done something to cover this disgrace, he found out an opportunity of relieving *Naupætus*, which was in great danger of being taken; and then joining with the *Acarnanians*, defeated the *Ambraciots*, who were abandoned by their *Peloponnesian* confederates. This victory brought him again into favour, and procured a peace between the *Ambraciots* and *Acarnanians*.

The next year began, according to custom, with a descent into *Attica* under *Agis* the son of *Archidamus*. The war in *Sicily* being still on foot, the *Athenians*, to bring it to an issue, sent forty gallies more under *Eurymedon*, and *Sophocles*, with orders to touch at *Corcyra*, and see if there were yet any remains of the sedition. To these was joined *Demosthenes*, whose business was to infest the coasts of *Peloponnesus*. In his way he opened his design of surprising

Olymp.
88. 4.

Pylus
taken,

and de-
fended.

prising *Pylus*, a ragged promontory of *Messenia*, with a small barren island lying before it, and within that a creek, which was capable of making a very good harbour. His colleagues not consenting to the project, it happened, that they were forced in thither by stress of weather: And the soldiers of their own accord, when they saw how advantageously the place was situated, set to fortifying it with the utmost diligence, and finished their works in six days; after which the other captains proceeding on their voyage, left *Demosthenes* with five gallies to secure it. The *Lacedæmonians* knowing it to be a place of too great importance to be neglected, immediately quitted *Attica*, and drew down their whole force to recover it; part of which they threw into *Sphaeteria* the island over against it. Then they blocked up the haven, and with the rest assaulted the fort with great fury both by sea and land; but were vigorously repulsed by *Demosthenes*, who having maintained his ground for two days, on the third was relieved by the fleet, which put back again upon the notice of his danger. These gallies made an offer of fight in the open sea; which not being accepted by the *Peloponnesians*, they rushed into the harbour, broke and sunk many of the enemy, took five, and forced the rest on shore.

Pylus being by this means secured, and the *Spartans* in the island at the same time closely
I besieged,

besieged, there came in great numbers of the *Peloponnesians*, and among them some of the *Spartan* magistrates; who seeing no possibility of rescuing their countrymen in the island, but upon terms, demanded a truce, in order to treat of a general peace at *Athens*; which accordingly was granted upon the delivery of their ships to them as a security, until such time as their Ambassadors should return. They being arrived at *Athens*, represented to the people, *How much for their reputation it would be, to grant a peace at this time, and to a state which had so lately the power both of peace and war in its own hands; and then among other advantages, gave a hint, That if there were but a right understanding between these two cities, the rest of Greece would fall in of course, and readily acquiesce under their joint dominion.* This was such a concession, as the *Lacedæmonians* had never before consented to, and argued their affairs to be at a very low ebb, when they were content to forfeit their title of the *Deliverers* of *Greece*, only to share in the tyranny, or rather to assist their rivals in the oppression of it. However, *Cleon* finding them so complying, insisted on it as a preliminary of the treaty, That those in the island *Sphaſteria* should be delivered up as prisoners, for whose sake the treaty itself was set on foot; and made other such exorbitant demands, that the *Spartan* Ambassadors could not for shame accept them.

The Lacedæmonians sue for peace.

So

Their proposals rejected.

So that they returning without success, the truce was expired, and the *Peloponnesians* demanded their sixty ships, which they had given up to the *Athenian* captains. But the *Athenians* made a frivolous pretence, that the truce was broke; and it being one main article of it, *That if it were broke in any one point, it should be void in all*, they kept the ships as forfeited.

The war being renewed on both sides, was carried on with great vigour against *Sphaeteria*; which holding out longer than was expected, the *Athenians* began to repent of their obstinacy about a peace. Which as it stuck chiefly upon *Cleon*, he told them, that the forcing the island was a more feasible thing than it was represented; and that if he were to command there, he could do it himself. The people immediately took him at his word; and *Nicias*, who was named for the command, very readily gave it up to him, as well to get rid of an expedition that he did by no means like, as to throw the disgrace of a miscarriage in it upon his rival. *Cleon* found he had overshot himself, and would have recanted, urging several things to excuse his accepting the commission: But the more he declined it, the more it was pressed upon him. When he found there was no way of getting off from that which was his own proposal, he resumed his first air of confidence, and declared, that he would in twenty days time bring those of the island prisoners.

soners to *Athens*, or die in the attempt: But the people were so well acquainted with his manner, that it occasioned a general laugh in the assembly. However, he acquitted himself beyond expectation, and made his words good.

Demosthenes being joined in commission with him, they landed in the island, surprized the out-guards, and having dispatched them, pressed on to the main attack, which was sustained by both sides with great vigour and obstinacy, until at length the *Athenians* prevailed, and drove the enemy towards the heart of the island; and still gaining ground, pursued them to the extreme parts of it, where the *Spartans* had possessed themselves of a strong fortress upon an hill, which had a very difficult ascent. Here they stood upon their defence; and after a furious engagement, which continued the greatest part of the day, the captain of a body of *Messenians*, who came to the assistance of the *Athenians*, discovered a secret winding passage to the top of the hill, where it commanded the fort, and taking a strong detachment with him, poured down upon the enemy with great impetuosity; and the *Athenians* renewing the attack at the same time on the other parts of the fort, the *Spartans* were distressed on all sides, and being quite dispirited and wearied out, surrendered at discretion. The surprizing them in this manner, was much the same

Sphaacteria taken.

same stratagem, as the *Persians* made use of at *Thermopylae*: And it was generally expected, that this body of *Spartans* should have stood it out like those under *Leonidas*, and have died sword in hand. Upon this occasion, one of the prisoners was asked in an insulting way, *Whether those who were slain, were valiant men?* His answer was, *That an arrow would be a thing of great value, if it knew how to distinguish a valiant man from a coward.* But it was not *Cleon's* drift to make a thorough slaughter of them; he chose rather to fulfil his promise in carrying them prisoners to *Athens*. For this reason there were no more than an hundred and twenty-eight killed out of four hundred and twenty, which was the original number of *Spartans* in the island. The rest were sent on board the gallies to *Athens*; where they kept them as hostages for their security against *Sparta*; with an intent to put them to death, in case their countrymen should renew their incursions into *Attica*. The *Spartans*, instead of acting offensively, would gladly have come to any reasonable accommodation; and they made pressing instances to *Athens* for the restitution of *Pylus*, and the release of their men: But the *Athenians* were too much elated upon the success of this enterprize, to hearken to any terms. And that which made them more impracticable at this time, was, that they had just defeated a good body of *Corinthians* in the *Isthmus*. *Pylus* was garrisoned

garrisoned by the *Messenians* of *Naupactus*, it being their native country : And as they were long professed enemies to *Sparta*, they not only infested and ravaged *Laconia* themselves, but harboured and encouraged all such as were ill affected to it.

From *Pylus* the fleet went forward again to *Corcyra*; and joining with them in the city, forced the exiles, who had retired to the hills, and from thence infested the country, to surrender, and remain prisoners, until orders came from *Athens* how to dispose of them. But in case any one of them offered to make his escape, they were all to lose the benefit of the treaty. The other *Corcyraeans* fearing the *Athenians* would not do justice on them, secretly encouraged some to fly; and thus the conditions being broken, they were all delivered up to the *Corcyraeans*; by whom some of them were cruelly put to death, by running a sort of *gantlet* between their spears; to prevent which, the rest became their own executioners with arrows, ropes, and such other instruments, as they had at hand. This put a final period to the sedition : *The sedition at Corcyra suppressed.* And from thence the *Athenians* arriving in *Sicily*, whither they were principally bound, prosecuted the war in those parts, but did not meet with the success they promised themselves from that expedition.

The next summer the *Athenians* acting offensively, *Nicias* with a good fleet surprized several.

Olymp.
89. 1.

*A peace in
Sicily.*

ral garrisoned places; among which was *Cythera* an island of great importance, and *Thyrea*, the inhabitants of which latter being the *Æginetans*, whom the *Lacedæmonians* had taken under their protection, were, upon account of their long enmity with *Athens*, most of them put to death. The *Grecian* cities in *Sicily* were at this time inclinable to a peace; which was accordingly concluded at the persuasion of *Hermocrates* a *Syracusan*, who convinced them of the *Athenians* designs, *That they lay hovering about them, rather as spies than confederates, and only waited an opportunity, when their power should be sufficiently broken by their divisions, to seize the whole island.* And this opinion the *Athenians* themselves confirmed, when finding they had no pretence to keep their footing in those parts, they banished two of their Admirals, and fined a third for not opposing the treaty. It was indeed alledged that they were bought off. But as nothing was more frequent among the rivals in the peoples favour, than when things went amiss, to accuse one another of bribery, their punishment proceeded rather from the peevishness of the state, which being blown up by a constant glut of prosperity, thought no enterprize too difficult to accomplish, but rather that they lost every thing they did not attempt.

*Stirs at
Megara.*

There having been a great faction in *Megara*, by which several of the nobility were expelled,

expelled, the citizens, to unite against their common danger from the *Athenians*, who made continual inroads into their territory, thought of recalling their exiles. But some resolved rather than they would consent to that, to deliver up the city to the *Athenians*; who accordingly came, but were frustrated in their design: However they invested *Nisæa* the port-town, and took it; and hoped by that means to make another more successful attempt upon the city. *Brasidas* in the mean while, who was levying forces for an expedition into *Thrace*, marched to the relief of *Megara*, which kept itself neuter, until either the *Lacedæmonians*, or *Athenians* got the better; and when the latter declined fighting, opened its gates to the *Lacedæmonians* as conquerors. Upon this the outlaws were restored, having first taken an oath not to revive any thing of past injuries: But when they had got the power into their hands, they apprehended an hundred of the adverse party, obliging the people to condemn, and put them to death: And then taking the government upon them, continued it a long time after in the nature of an *Oligarchy*.

Things being thus settled in *Megara*, *Brasidas* proceeded on his march into *Thrace*, being invited to it by the great assurances he received from *Perdiccas* King of *Macedonia*, who also on his part began to be very apprehensive of

the confederacies, the *Athenians* had formed in those quarters. As *Brasidas* took his way through *Thessaly*, he was in great danger of disputing his passage, for marching through the territories of those princes without leave first obtained. However these difficulties being passed, several towns of *Thrace* came over to him upon promise of their liberty, and being governed by their own laws; the chief of which were *Acanthus*, *Stagirus*, and *Amphipolis*. *Thucydides* the *historian* who commanded in those parts, marched to the relief of the latter, but came too late; and finding nothing was to be done there, threw himself into *Eion*, which was in the neighbourhood, and must have been taken the next day. But the saving this town did not make amends for the loss of *Amphipolis*, which was of very ill consequence to the *Athenians*: For by it they were deprived not only of their contribution, but also of great store of timber for their shipping; and thereby a passage was opened to the invasion of their confederates. *Thucydides* therefore was charged with neglect in not succouring this place, and, by the power of *Cleon's* faction, was banished. When the war was over, he returned to *Athens*: But as he never appeared again in any public station; and as the time and place of his death are not clearly determined, it may be proper here to insert what is further to be said of him.

Thucy-
des ba-
nished.

He

He was the son of *Olorus*, or *Orolus* a *Thracian*, whose father was a *Miltiades*, and of the same family with the great captain of that name. His education was suitable to his birth, and so was his fortune: For in *Thrace* he was possessed of some gold mines, which gave him great credit and influence in all that country. This *Brasidas* was so well aware of, that he used his utmost diligence, and offered the most advantageous terms to the citizens of *Amphipolis*, in order to get possession of it before *Thucydides* could arrive. He went young to *Thurium* upon the coast of *Italy*, where the *Athenians* had newly planted a colony. But we have very little account of his actions, either at home or abroad, before the affair of *Amphipolis*; and that put an end to his pretensions as a soldier. Some have imagined, that he was banished by the *Ostracism*: But it has been shewn, that this was not the proper punishment for those who had misbehaved in the service of their country, but rather for those who had behaved too well, and had more merit, than was thought consistent with the safety of a free people. Besides it was limited to ten years; whereas it is certain, that *Thucydides* was twenty years in banishment. The accounts of his return from his exile are not so certain: But there is good reason to believe, that he was in the number of those, who were restored by the general act of *Amnesty*, upon the expulsion of

the thirty tyrants. It is supposed, that he was then sixty-eight years of age, and that at that time he began to write his history, though he had before been collecting the materials for it, ever since the breaking out of the war. The first part of the transactions which he relates, he was an eye-witness of; and as to the others, which happened after his leaving the service, he spared no pains or expence to procure the best and truest informations. Some have imagined, that, according to his original design, he carried his history to the end of the war; and they have therefore fixed the conclusion of it to the twenty-first year, looking upon the transactions of the six succeeding years, rather as the consequences of the war, than as being truly a part of it. But there does not appear to be sufficient grounds for this opinion: For the same animosities and hostilities were continued between *Athens* and *Sparta* the last six years as before; and nothing but the humbling the one or the other of these two rival states, which were contending for the sovereignty of *Greece*, could decide their quarrel. At length the case happened accordingly in the taking of *Athens*; and this was the only period of time, which could properly be said to determine the war. From hence we may conclude, that *Thucydides* left his history imperfect; and this was owing to his entering upon it so late. And yet, if his age be rightly computed, he lived to be full
eighty

eighty years old; so that he had twelve years of life left to complete it. But his great accuracy and exactness, both in his matter and stile, made it a work of more time than he had to spare. And therefore the reason why the eighth book of his history, according to the present division of it, (for it consisted anciently of thirteen) does not appear to be so thoroughly finished as the rest, was, because he did not live to revise it, so as to put the last hand to it. At least this is a more natural way of accounting for this last book, than by ascribing it to his daughter, or to *Xenophon*, or *Theopompus*. I have nothing to add here concerning the merit of his history, having already given a general character of it in my preface.

Brasidas finding the season too far advanced, to push his conquests in these parts, spent the rest of the winter in fortifying the places he had taken, and in preparations for the taking of others. He was the chief man, who put new life into the affairs of the *Lacedæmonians*, which before this expedition were in such a declining posture, that they were afraid their *Helots* would take advantage from the losses they had sustained abroad, to make some innovations at home: To prevent which they made use of a barbarous stratagem. Proclamation was made, that as many of them, as could give a good account of their services done to the

Two thou-
sand of the
Helots
murdered.

state during the war, should be made free: Upon which two thousand of the most forward and active, and consequently the most likely to rebel, put in their pretensions; and went with crowns on their heads in procession about the temples, in order to receive their freedom; but were soon after made away, though after what manner is not recorded. And the state took this opportunity of sending seven hundred more of them with *Brasidas*.

The fight
at Delium.

Whilst these things were transacting in *Thrace*, the *Athenians* went with their whole strength both of citizens and strangers into *Bæotia*, being invited thither by a party of the *Bæotians* themselves, who were endeavouring to change their government into a *democracy* after the *Athenian* model. The *Athenians* fortified *Delium* in the territory of *Tanagra*; which being a thing contrary to the custom of *Greece*, because that place was sacred to *Apollo*, the confederates of the *Bæotians* resented it, and gave them battle. Whilst both sides were engaged with great obstinacy, *Pacondas* the *Theban* General secretly detached a party of horse round the hills, which falling unexpectedly upon the enemies rear, put the whole *Athenian* army to flight, about a thousand of them being killed, with *Hippocrates* their General. *Delium* being still garrisoned, the *Bæotians* sat down before it; and after several fruitless attempts to recover it; they devised an engine made of a great yard of a ship, bored through,

through, and plated over with iron at one end; to which was fixed a pot filled with sulphur, and other combustible matter. This being applied to a part of the wall, which was covered with dry vines, the besiegers blew with a huge pair of bellows through the bore of the yard, and made such a fire, that it forced the defendants from the walls, and made a breach, by which the enemy entered the town, wherein some were killed, and two hundred taken prisoners.

The extraordinary success of the *Athenians* being in some measure balanced by the defeats at *Delium*, and other places in the last campaign, inclined both parties to an accommodation, at least until such time as they could recruit: And accordingly they made a truce for a year, in order to manage a treaty for a longer term. But there being a contest about two towns, *Scione* and *Menda*, which revolted to *Brasidas* after the truce, the *Athenians* neglecting the war in all other parts, applied themselves wholly to the reducing of those places; the latter of which they took, and blocked up *Scione*. At which time *Brasidas* being with *Perdiccas*, who made use of him to chastise his neighbours, deserted him to march to the relief of these towns; which so disgusted *Perdiccas*, that he immediately renewed his league with *Athens*.

Olymp.
89. 2.

*A truce
for a year.*

The

Olymp.
89. 3.

Cleon and
Brasidas
killed.

The truce being expired, *Cleon* sailed with the *Athenian* fleet to *Thrace*, where he took *Torone*, and sent seven hundred prisoners to *Athens*. From hence he appeared before *Amphipolis*; which was so well secured by *Brasidas*, that he was forced to decamp. But as he was ordering his retreat, the *Lacedæmonians* sallied out and cut him off, with six hundred of his men, with the loss of only seven of their own, but among them *Brasidas* himself; who lived no longer, than until he had news of the victory.

The *Athenians* having received so many mortifying blows one upon the neck of another, began to think of peace in good earnest: To which the death of these two generals did not a little contribute. For they had hitherto both opposed it, though they acted upon quite different motives, and were men of very different principles.

Their characters.

Brasidas had courage and conduct, moderation and integrity; and it was he alone, who at this time kept up the sinking reputation of his country. He was the only *Spartan* since *Pausanias*, who appeared with any established character among her confederates; to whom he behaved so well, that they were again brought under her dependence. And several cities came in to him, as their common deliverer from the tyranny of *Athens*. The inhabitants of *Amphipolis*, besides their joining with the other allies in

in solemnizing his funeral in a public manner, instituted anniversary games and sacrifices to his memory as an hero, and so far considered him as their founder, that they destroyed all the monuments, which had been preserved as marks of their being an *Athenian* colony. His opposition to the peace was not so much the effect of his obstinacy, as of a true *Spartan* zeal for the honour of his country, which he was sensible had been treated by the *Athenians* with too much insolence and contempt. He had now a fair prospect of bringing them to reason, as he was gaining ground upon them, and every day making fresh conquests: And however he might be transported with the glory of performing great actions, yet the main end of his ambition seems to have been the bringing the war to an happy conclusion. I must not here omit the generous answer his mother made to the persons who brought her the news of his death. Upon her asking them, whether he died honourably, they naturally fell into encomiums of his great exploits, and his personal bravery, and preferred him to all the Generals of his time; *Yes, said she, My son was a valiant man; but Sparta has still many citizens braver than he.*

Cleon was another sort of man. He was rash, arrogant and obstinate, contentious, envious and malicious, covetous and corrupt. And yet with all these bad qualities, he had some little arts
of

of popularity, which raised and supported him. He made it his business to caress the old men; and as much as he loved money, he often relieved the poor. He had a ready wit, with a way of drollery that took with many; though with the generality it passed for banter and buffoonry. He had one very refined way of recommending himself, which was, upon his coming into power, to discard all his old friends, for fear it should be thought he would be biased by them. At the same time he picked up a vile set of sycophants in their room, and made a servile court to the lowest dregs of the people. And yet even they had so bad an opinion of him, that they often declared against him for *Nicias* his professed enemy, who, though he took part with the nobility, still preserved an interest in the commons, and was more generally respected. That which *Cleon* chiefly depended on, was his eloquence: But it was of a boisterous kind, verbose and petulant, and consisted more in the vehemence of his stile and utterance, and the frantickness of his action and gesture, than in the strength of his reasoning. By this furious manner of haranguing, he introduced among the orators and statesmen a licentiousness and indecency, which were not known before; and which gave rise to the many riotous and disorderly proceedings, which were afterwards in the assemblies, when almost every thing was carried by noise and tumult.

tumult. In the military part of his service, he was as unaccountable as in the rest of his conduct. He was not naturally formed for war, and only made use of it as a cloke for his ill practices, and because he could not carry on his other views without it. His taking *Spbaetria* was certainly a great action; but it was a rash and desperate one; and it has been shewn, how he was undesignedly drawn into it by a bravado of his own. However he was so blown up with the success of that expedition, that he fancied himself a General; and the people were brought to have the same opinion of him. But the event soon undeceived them, and convinced them, that he knew better how to lead them in the assembly, than in the field. In reality he was not a man to be trusted in either: For in the one, he was more of a blusterer, than of a soldier, and in the other, he had more of an incendiary, than of a patriot.

The *Lacedaemonians* were no less inclined to peace than the *Athenians*, and were glad to treat at this time, while they could do it with honour. Besides they had nothing more at heart, than the imprisonment of their men taken at *Pylus*, they being the chief of their city: And among other considerations, it was not the least, that the truce which they had made with *Argos* for thirty years, was just upon expiring. This was a strong and flourishing city; and though it was not of itself a match for
Sparta.

*A peace
concluded
for fifty
years.*

Sparta, yet they knew it was far from being contemptible; and that it held too good a correspondence with its neighbours, not to make itself capable of giving them a great deal of uneasiness. The matter having been canvassed, and debated most part of the winter, the *Lacedæmonians*, to bring the treaty to a conclusion, gave out, that they were resolved, as soon as the season would permit, to fortify in *Attica*. Upon which the *Athenians* grew more moderate in their demands; and a peace was concluded in the tenth year of the war between the two states and their confederates, for fifty years: The chief articles being, *That the garrisons should be evacuated, and the towns and prisoners restored on both sides.* This was called the *Nician Peace*, because *Nicias*, who was just the reverse of his rival *Cleon*, was the chief instrument in it. Besides the tender concern he always expressed for his country, he had more particular ends in it, in securing his reputation. For he had been upon many expeditions, and had generally succeeded in them. But yet he was sensible, how much he owed to his good-fortune, and his cautious management; and he did not care to risque what he had already got, for the hopes of more.

*Æschylus
the foun-
der of tra-
gedy.*

About the beginning of this war, or some few years before it, died *Æschylus* an *Athenian*, from whom we may date the original of *Tragedy*. For the earlier essays towards it were

no

no more than a continued song of the *chorus*: And the improvement it received from *Thespis* in *Solon's* time, was only the addition of one person, whose business it was to relieve the *chorus*, with the recital of some illustrious adventure. *Æschylus* changed the *cart* into a *theatre*; and divided the *action* between several *persons*, whom he dressed in habits suitable to the characters they were to sustain. His style is sublime and pompous, but withal harsh and obscure: The main end of all his pieces, is *terror*; and though he has not worked it up with that *conduct* and *decorum*, which were more artfully observed by his successors, yet he deserves particular mention, as the first, who introduced on the stage any thing like a *regular variety*.

C H A P. VI.

From the peace concluded between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* for fifty years, to the end of the *Peloponnesian* war.

Containing the space of 17 years.

THERE was one clause in the latter treaty whereby it was provided, *That the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, might alter, or add to it, as they saw occasion*: Which looked so arbitrary and designing, that the *Bæotians*, and several
of

A. M.
3584.
Olymp.
89. 4.

*A league
offensive
and defen-
sive be-
twixt A-
thens and
Sparta.*

of the *Peloponnesian* allies, would not sign it. Whereupon *Nicias* to unite *Athens* and *Sparta* by a closer tie, and strike a terror into those who stood out, prevailed with the two states, besides the peace, to enter into a league offensive and defensive, for the same term of fifty years : Which however lasted but between seven and eight of them ; and during that time the war was not entirely interrupted, because the treaty was never fairly put in execution.

This stuck chiefly upon the *Lacedæmonians*, to whom it falling by lot to make the first restitution, they immediately began with that of persons, and in return, received their prisoners taken at *Pylus* : And for places they endeavoured it ; but the truth is, they had promised more than they were able to perform. They had won more towns than the *Athenians* ; but then they were not such absolute masters of them. For some they had restored to such of their allies, from whom the *Athenians* had taken them ; some, and those the greatest part, they had set at liberty upon opening their gates to them, as their friends, and deliverers : And though they found means of making satisfaction for these, by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others, which they had taken during the war ; yet there were others, which they had taken into their protection, and which having exasperated the *Athenians* by revolting, would not endure to hear of being abandoned to their old masters.

masters. Of this latter sort was *Amphipolis*, which would not be assigned over, though the *Lacedæmonians* had drawn out their garrison, and used all the methods in order to it, but downright force; and this they had promised to employ in case of a positive refusal; and, by joining with the *Athenians*, to oblige all the confederates in general to accept of the peace.

But this cold performance of articles made the *Athenians* suspect the sincerity of their intentions, and keep what they had in their hands: and though they maintained a sort of correspondence, they were so far from proceeding with vigour against the discontented confederates, that they gave them an opportunity of uniting against them. The first who published their grievances, were the *Corinthians*; who turning all their anger upon the *Lacedæmonians*, as being deserted by them, applied themselves to *Argos* their professed enemy, insinuating, *That the league between Athens and Sparta, was only a combination to enslave the rest of Greece.* There needed not many arguments with the *Argives*, whose truce being expired, they expected when the *Lacedæmonians* should fall upon them. Besides they were grown rich and powerful through a long course of tranquility, and had conceived such a contemptible notion of the *Lacedæmonians* since their defeat at *Pylus*, and their suing for peace, that they thought this a good opportunity of wresting

*The rest of
the confederates
disgusted.*

the Sovereignty of *Peloponnesus* out of their hands. Accordingly they deputed twelve of their citizens with a commission at large, to make an alliance with any free cities of *Greece*, but *Athens* and *Sparta*. The gates of *Argos* being open to all the rest, the first that led the way, was *Mantineia* of *Arcadia*, which had lately thrown off its dependence upon *Sparta*; and this city was followed by several others of *Peloponnesus*. The *Lacedæmonians* perceiving the *Corinthians* to be at the bottom of all these proceedings, sent their Ambassadors to put a stop to them. Who, after many remonstrances, charged them with perjury, in case they forsook the alliance, or did not accept the treaty upon the foot it was settled, since it was agreed between them, *That what was concluded by a majority, should be binding to all*. The *Corinthians* turned their own arguments of reason and religion upon them, alledging, *That they had not performed the conditions of the treaty, in not providing better for the restitution of the places they had lost: That they could not desert their confederates in Thrace, without manifest breach of a former oath, which they had taken to protect them; and that as for their league with Argos, they should follow justice, and the advice of their friends*. Thus having dismissed the Ambassadors, they not only entered themselves into alliance with *Argos*, but endeavoured to bring in several other states, and practised more particularly

cularly with the *Thebans*, and *Megareans*: But the different forms of government used in *Thebes* and *Argos*, made them incline rather to *Sparta*. Thus was most part of this year spent in conferences and negociations on all sides, in breaking and renewing treaties and alliances, without concluding any thing effectually. In the mean while *Athens* and *Sparta* were in a manner left to themselves, being equally jealous of their neighbours, and dissatisfied with each other. The *Athenians* finding their *Lacedæmonians* more particularly uneasy about *Pylus*, which was still in their hands, intimated to them, that they should be repossessed of it, provided the *Bæotians* would restore *Panaclum* to them. Yet the *Bæotians* refused to part with it, unless the *Lacedæmonians* would make a private league with them: Which they did, though they knew it was expressly contrary to that, which they had ratified with the *Athenians*; wherein it was provided, *That no treaty should be made without the joint consent of them both*. But the *Bæotians*, notwithstanding their agreement, demolished *Panaclum*, alledging for their excuse, that as it stood upon the confines of *Attica* and *Bæotia*, it was formerly agreed, that it should not be held by either in particular, but in common to both.

The *Lacedæmonians* having broke one article of their treaty with the *Athenians*, to enable them to perform another, were shamefully

Olymp.
90. 1.

disappointed of their hopes in the *Thebans* about the business of *Panaetum*: And all they had to save the matter at *Athens*, was, *That the place was not now in a condition of harbouring any enemies to the state.* But the *Athenians* resented it extremely, as not imagining but what was done, was at least with their consent, if not at their instigation. They told them plainly, *They had broke the three most material articles of the peace, in entering into a separate league with the Boeotians; in demolishing a town they ought to have restored; and lastly, in not forcing their dependents to make good the rest of the treaty.*

*The rise
and cha-
racter of
Alcibia-
des*

When things were thus far advanced towards a rupture, they were easily aggravated both by the present *Ephori* at *Sparta*, who were more inclinable to the war, as also by several of the leading men at *Athens*. *Nicias* indeed was employed as a mediator on both sides; but was violently opposed by *Alcibiades*, who had too considerable a share in those transactions, to be but barely mentioned. His father was *Clinias*, who fitted out a gally at his own charge, and behaved very well in the fight at *Artemisium*. He was left young to the care of his uncle *Pericles*; under whom he laid the foundation of that eminence, to which he afterwards arrived. He was naturally subject to great excesses of passion in all kinds; but the most prevailing was his ambition: In the pur-
suit

suit of which he appeared bold and generous, and yet somewhat turbulent and perverse. Of which we may form an idea, from an instance of his childhood: For as he was playing in the street, a cart happened to come by; and being very intent upon his sport, he bid the driver stop: When he found he could not have his will of the fellow, but that he still came on, he throws himself along just in the road, *Now*, says he, *drive on*. His way of living was not only loose and effeminate, but riotous even to debauchery, and a contempt of religion, and the laws. Not but he could put a restraint upon himself when his interest required it; and was such a master of disguise, that he could conform himself to any fashion, or country. In *Ionia*, he was luxurious, frolic, and lazy; in *Thrace* he was always drinking or on horse-back; and when he was with the *Persians*, he exceeded them in pomp and magnificence. He could comply with the severest discipline, and the strictest virtue; inso-much that even at *Sparta* he was admired, as one laborious, frugal, and reserved; and it is remarkable, that of all his friends, none was more intimate with him than *Socrates*. So that it is not so much from the inequality of his manners, as from the different appearances of them, that men have formed so many different judgments of him. But whatever his vices were, he was a man of prodigious parts, subtilty, and

C c 3

address,

address, and had so many ways of recommending himself, that he appeared to a greater advantage, than several others, who acted upon more solid and steady principles. His noble birth, and the glory of his ancestors; his riches, which he employed in donatives, public shews, and all sorts of munificence; the force of his eloquence, wherein he was only second to *Pericles*; the beauty of his person even to loveliness, joined with his extraordinary courage, and application to military affairs, as they procured him a numerous train of friends, and dependents, so they prevailed with the people in general, to indulge, and give the softest names to his excesses: So that what would have been criminal in others, passed in him only for the starts, and sallies of youth, and the effects of good nature. In short, he had a charm for every one he conversed with; and those who abhorred his *practices*, at the same time doted on the *man*. His first expedition was against *Potidea*; where being wounded, and hard pressed by the enemy, *Socrates* threw himself before him, and rescued him: And he afterwards did the same for *Socrates* at the battle of *Delium*. Having got some reputation in the army, he was immediately surrounded with a crowd of flatterers; and as his vanity all along kept pace with his ambition, he was easily persuaded, that as soon as he concerned himself in public affairs, he
should

should not only eclipse the rest of the Generals, and statesmen, but exceed the authority, and reputation of *Pericles* himself. And indeed he soon ordered it so, that he had none but *Nicias* and *Phæax* to grapple with; the former of which being the older man, and of a more settled interest, and character, especially with those who were weary of the war, he thought, if he could any ways undermine him, he should have little more to do.

With this design he had all along opposed the peace: And observing now, that the *Argives* sought for protection against the *Lacedæmonians*, he gave them a secret assurance of a league offensive and defensive with *Athens*: And transacting as well in person, as by letters with those, who had most authority amongst the people, he encouraged them *to be under no manner of apprehensions from Sparta, but to apply themselves wholly to the Athenians, who, if they would have a little patience, would repent of the peace, and soon put an end to it.* Accordingly he laid hold of this juncture, and improved the handle the *Lacedæmonians* had given, to exasperate the people both against them, and *Nicias*. Which had so good an effect, that every thing seemed disposed for a treaty with *Argos*: Of which the *Lacedæmonians* being very apprehensive, immediately dispatched their Ambassadors to *Athens*; who at first said what seemed very satisfactory, *That they came with*

His stratagem to oppose the peace.

full power to concert all matters in difference upon equal terms. The council received their propositions, and the people were to assemble the next day, to give them audience. *Alcibiades* in the mean while fearing, lest this negotiation would ruin his designs, had a secret conference with the Ambassadors, and persuaded them under a colour of friendship, not to let the people know at first, what full powers their commission gave them; but intimate, *That they came only to treat, and make proposals*; for that otherwise, they would grow insolent in their demands, and extort from them such unreasonable terms, as they could not with honour consent to. They were so well satisfied of the prudence and sincerity of this advice, that he drew them from *Nicias*, to rely intirely upon himself: And the next day, when the people were assembled, and the Ambassadors introduced, *Alcibiades* with a very obliging air demanded of them, *With what powers they were come?* They made answer, *That they were not come as Plenipotentiaries*. Upon which he instantly changed his voice, and countenance, and exclaiming against them as notorious liars, bid the people *take care, how they transacted any thing with men, on whom they could have so little dependence*. The people dismissed the Ambassadors in a rage; and *Nicias* knowing nothing of the deceit, was confounded, and in disgrace. To redeem his

his credit, he proposed being sent once more to *Sparta*: But not being able to gain such terms there, as the *Athenians* demanded, they immediately upon his return, struck up a league with the *Argives* for an hundred years, including the *Eleans* and *Mantineans*; which yet did not in terms cancel that with the *Lacedæmonians*, though it is plain, that the whole intent of it was levelled against them.

*A league
between
Athens
and Ar-
gos.*

Upon this new alliance, *Alcibiades* was declared General; and though his best friends could not commend the method by which he brought about his designs; yet it was looked upon as a great reach in politics, thus to divide, and shake almost all *Peloponnesus*, and to remove the war so far from the *Athenian* frontier, that even success would profit the enemy but little, should they be conquerors, whereas if they were defeated, *Sparta* itself would be hardly safe. The chief business of this year, was a war between the *Argives* and *Epidaurians*, begun upon a slight pretence, that the latter had refused to send a victim to *Apollo Pythius*, whose temple belonged chiefly to the care of the *Argives*: But the true design was to secure themselves on that side from the *Corinthians*. Accordingly they made several incursions into their territories, but without any considerable action: And *Alcibiades*, who marched to their assistance, having done little more than shewn himself in *Peloponnesus*, returned.

*Olymp.
90. 2.
Alcibia-
des de-
clared Ge-
neral.*

The

Olymp.
90. 3.

The *Lacedæmonians* had of late made very faint efforts to recover their authority: But finding many of their confederates already gone off, and the rest wavering, resolved to remedy the evil, before it spread too far; and drawing out their whole force both of citizens and slaves, were joined by their allies, and encamped almost under the walls of *Argos*. The *Argives* having notice of their march, made all possible preparations, and came out with a full resolution to fight them. But just as they were going to engage, two of their officers went over to *Agis* the *Spartan* King and General, and proposed to him to have the business made up by a reference. He immediately closing with the offer, in order to it, granted them a truce for four months, and drew off his army, the whole affair being in a manner transacted by these three, without any general consent, or knowledge on either side. The *Peloponnesians*, though they durst not disobey their orders, inveighed grievously against *Agis*, for letting such an advantage slip, as they could never promise to themselves again: For they had actually hemmed in the enemy, and that with the best, if not the greatest army, that ever was brought into the field. And the *Argives* were so little apprehensive of danger on their side, that they were no less incensed against their mediators; one of whom they forced to the altars to save his life, and confiscated his goods.

After,

Afterwards the *Athenians* came with considerable recruits, and persuaded the *Argives* to break the truce, telling them, *It was not good, because made without the privity of their confederates.* Upon that they besieged *Orchomenus* in *Arcadia*, and took it: at which the *Lacedæmonians* were so enraged, that imputing it all to *Agis*, they resolved to pull down his house, and fine him; but upon his promise to do something, that should sufficiently clear his conduct, they forbore; yet would not suffer him to take the field again, without assigning him ten of their citizens, as a council. An occasion was soon offered to wipe off this stain, by marching to the relief of *Tegea*. In the territory of *Mantineæ* he gave the *Argives* battle: And though his right wing was pressed, the main battle, where he himself commanded, forced the enemy to give ground; and having by that means got an opportunity of relieving the rest, he obtained a memorable victory; which yet might have been more complete, if he would have made the most of it: But it being against the *Spartan* discipline to continue the pursuit long, he contented himself with being master of the field. However there fell eleven hundred of the enemy, and only three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, with some few of their confederates. *Agis* by this battle redeemed both his own, and his country's honour, so far at least, that those miscarriages, which had passed for cowardise,

A battle at Mantineæ, between the Lacedæmonians and Argives.

ardise, or mismanagement, were now generally ascribed to fortune. Upon this, the *Lacedæmonians* took the field again this year; but rather than venture another battle, chose to treat with *Argos*; which presently concluded with them, first a peace, and then a league, thereby excluding all its allies but *Mantineia*, which, by reason of its situation between them both, was obliged to declare for *Sparta*. That which facilitated the treaty, was a design of some of the *Argives* to introduce an *Oligarchy*; which, by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, they established after their model; and the same change was affected at *Sicyon*.

Olymp.
90. 4.

But in a few months after, the commons at *Argos* took up arms, and having gained some advantage, *Alcibiades* came in to their aid, and not only restored the *democracy*, but made them renew their league with *Athens*. He persuaded them further to join their city to the sea, by long walls, that so he might upon all occasions relieve them; which were no sooner perfected, but the *Lacedæmonians* came with an army, and demolished them.

Olymp.
91. 1.

This summer *Alcibiades* to keep *Argos* firm, went thither with twenty gallies; and apprehending about three hundred of those, who were most suspected to be in the *Spartan* interest, dispersed them in the neighbouring islands.

After

After which the *Athenians* resolving, that *Melos* should acknowledge their sovereignty, as the rest of the islands did, went with a fleet against it; and at their arrival sent their deputies to expostulate. The *Melians* told them in a long conference, *That whilst they had any hopes left, it could not be expected, they should throw up that liberty, which they had maintained so successfully for seven hundred years: That the two disputable points in war, were fortune and power; for the first of which, they could depend upon the justice of their cause, to keep the gods on their side; and as for human assistance, that as they were a colony and confederate of the Lacedæmonians, they had good reason to expect it of them, from a double tie of honour and consanguinity: That however, if not to molest the Athenians, would answer their purpose, they were content to stand neuter.* This they insinuated in so artful and submissive a manner; and yet with something so noble and ingenuous, that they kept up to the character of men, who were willing to preserve their lives, provided it were not at the expence of their honour and liberty, and who knew how to employ their reason well, when their sword had failed them. The answer of the *Athenians* was full of insolence and contempt, *That they did not come to enter into a long detail, or to debate, so as to put themselves upon an equal foot with them: That they could lose no honour by submitting to*
such

*Affairs at
Melos.*

such a power as theirs : That they saw the danger was at hand ; and the only question was, Whether they would be preserved, or not. However, to give some colour to their proceedings, they intimated a right of sovereignty over them, which they derived from the time of the Persian wars. Then they ridiculed the vanity of their hopes in depending upon the Lacedæmonians, telling them, That whatever generosity their constitution obliged him to express, it was generally confined to themselves ; for that in respect of others, honour and justice were but other names for will and interest ; and that this was no where more a maxim, than at Sparta : That supposing them never so well inclined to relieve them, yet it was not in their power, whilst the Athenians were masters at sea : And that in short, since they would not embrace this only opportunity of preventing their ruin, they must expect the consequence. After this fruitless intercourse, the Athenians began their works, and were interrupted by two successful sallies of the Melians. But in the winter, upon the arrival of recruits from Athens, they surrendered at discretion ; the men were put to the sword, the women and children made slaves, and the place re-peopled by a colony of five hundred Athenians. Peloponnesus was generally quiet this year : But the Athenians, who lay in Pylus, infested Laconia, and carried in a great deal of booty ; which the Lacedæmonians did not care to re-
sent

sent as a manifest breach of the peace, but only gave leave in general to any of their people, to make reprisals in *Attica*.

Upon this little respite from open war, the *Athenians* turned their thoughts again upon *Sicily*, having the last year entertained Ambassadors from *Egesta*, who demanded their assistance against the *Seluntians*, and *Syracusians*. They promised large supplies of money for carrying on the war; and represented, that *Athens* was particularly interested in the quarrel, lest *Syracuse* growing absolute at home, should join with the *Peloponnesians* against her. The *Athenians* readily embraced so plausible an handle, as the aiding their confederates: But *Alcibiades* was the man, who inflamed this desire of theirs to the height, and prevailed with them no longer to proceed secretly in their design, and by degrees, but to set out a great fleet, and undertake at once to make themselves masters of the island. To this purpose he possessed the people with great hopes, whilst he himself entertained much greater; so that the conquest of *Sicily*, which was the utmost bound of their ambition, was but the beginning of his. For he dreamed of nothing less than the conquest of *Carthage* and *Lybia*; and, by the accession of these, fancied himself already master of *Italy*, and *Peloponnesus*; and seemed to look upon *Sicily*, as little more than a magazine for the war. The wiser sort made a jest of this expedition,

Olymp.
91. 2.
Affairs in
Sicily.

pedition, but durst not declare their opinion freely, because they found the bulk of the people so taken up with the thoughts of it, that you might see them, old and young forming themselves into companies, some drawing the figure of *Sicily*, others making charts, and describing the seas, harbours, and places, which this isle shews opposite to the *African* shore.

Accordingly they decreed a war under the conduct of *Alcibiades*, *Nicias* and *Lamachus*, thinking to temper the heat of the first, with the caution, and experience of the others. But *Nicias* would have declined the command, by opposing the thing in general, as no less difficult in itself, than ill-timed in respect of the *Lacedæmonians*, who only waited such an opportunity to repair their losses and disgrace. He also inveighed against *Alcibiades*, as too young and rash for such an enterprize, and insinuated, *That his chief aim in promoting it, was to support his own grandeur and luxury, at the expence and danger of the public.* *Alcibiades* urged on the contrary, *That they had nothing to fear from the Lacedæmonians, who were brought so low, that he had lately obliged them to stake their All upon the fortune of one day at Mantinea.* *Then for active, and turbulent spirits, such as were the Athenians, that it was always thought necessary to keep them up to their discipline, and that they could be no where more profitably employed, than against such states,*

as

as they had reason to suspect would be their enemies, and whom, in common policy, they ought to begin with first. That therefore the obstinacy of Nicias in opposing it, tended only to sloth and sedition. Nicias had no way left to deter the people from this enterprize, but by laying before them the great preparations it would require: But to obviate all objections of this kind, they declared the three Generals absolute, to regulate every thing both at home and abroad, in the manner they should judge most conducive to the advantage of the state. By this means Nicias was forced to comply; though it was so much against his will, that he was said to have been hurried away, and dragged, as it were, by the neck and shoulders into Sicily.

There being no further room for debate, a great fleet was rigged out of above an hundred and thirty sail; with five thousand and one hundred foldiers, and other necessary provisions of all kinds, and every way complete. But just as they were putting to sea, it happened that most of the images of *Mercury* throughout the whole city were defaced and broken: Which being looked upon as ominous to the expedition, and supposed to be done by some who were ill affected to the government, great rewards were proposed to any that would discover the authors; and after a strict enquiry, *Alcibiades* was accused. The people were violently incensed against him: But they thought

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fit

Alcibiades accused of breaking the images of Mercury.

fit to let him proceed on his voyage to *Sicily*, and if there appeared any matters against him, to call him to an account afterwards; though he proffered to take his trial immediately upon it, and urged it as a very preposterous thing, *To send a man, who was thought obnoxious to the state, with such a force under his command, and not to give him an opportunity of purging himself.* One principal motive with them, for putting off his prosecution for the present, was with regard to the soldiery, who were so fond of him, that they declared, *They would not sail without him.*

The whole fleet met at *Corcyra*, and from thence parted for *Sicily*; but the Generals were divided in their opinions, as to the place where they should make a descent. *Lamachus* was for making directly to *Syracuse* the capital: He urged, *That it was as yet unprovided, and under the greatest consternation; that an army was always most terrible at the first, before the enemy had time to recollect their spirits, and make the danger familiar to them.* But the other's reasons taking place, it was agreed to reduce the lesser cities first; and having detached ten gallies only to take a view of the situation and harbour of *Syracuse*, they landed with the rest of their forces, and surpris'd *Catana*.

*He is sent
for home to
take his
trial.*

After which *Alcibiades* was sent for home, in order to abide his trial. For his enemies had taken occasion from his absence, to attack him

him more fiercely, and openly ; they had drawn up, and aggravated the information against him, and inferred his guilt, as to the business of the *Mercury's*, from his riotous way of living, and his having prophaned the *Mysteries* of *Ceres* and *Proserpine* at a drunken meeting, in which piece of mockery he acted the Chief Priest. The charge fell very heavy upon his friends and acquaintance at *Athens* ; and being apprehensive that he should meet with the same treatment, he fled to *Sparta*, having first desired letters of safe conduct, and at the same time assured the *Spartans*, *That he would make them amends by his future services, for all the mischief he had done them, whilst he was their enemy.* As he was making his escape, one, who, knew him, asked him, *If he durst not trust his native country ?* Yes, said he, *I dare trust her for all other things ; but when the matter concerns my life, I will not trust my mother, lest she should by mistake throw in a black bean instead of a white one.* When afterwards he was told, that the assembly had pronounced judgment of death against him, all he said was, *I will make them sensible that I am yet alive.*

The *Syracusians* had by this time put themselves into a posture of defence ; and finding, that *Nicias* did not advance towards them, they talked of attacking him in his camp ; and some of them asked in a scoffing way, *Whether he was come into Sicily, to settle at Catana ?* He

was roused by this insult, and resolved to make the best of his way to *Syracuse*. He durst not attempt it by land for want of cavalry; and he thought it equally hazardous to make a descent by sea upon an enemy, who was so well prepared to receive him. However he chose the latter way, and succeeded in it by a stratagem. He had gained a citizen of *Catana*, to go as a deserter to the *Syracusians*, and inform them that the *Athenians* lay every night in the town without their arms, and that early in the morning on a certain day appointed, they might surprise them, seize on their camp, with all their arms and baggage, burn their fleet in the harbour, and destroy the whole army. The *Syracusians* gave credit to him, and marched with all their forces towards *Catana*: Which *Nicias* had no sooner notice of, but he embarked his troops, and steering away for *Syracuse*, landed them there the next morning, and fortified himself in the out-skirts of the town.

The *Syracusians* were so provoked at this trick being put upon them, that they immediately returned to *Syracuse*, and presented themselves without the walls in order of battle. *Nicias* marched out of his trenches to meet them; and a very sharp action ensued, wherein at length the *Athenians* got the better, and forced the enemy back to the city, after having killed two hundred and sixty of them,
and

and their confederates, with the loss of fifty of their own men. They were not as yet in a condition to attack the city; and therefore took up their winter quarters at *Catana* and *Naxos*.

The *Syracusians* in the mean while sent to solicit the assistance of *Corinth* and *Sparta*; the former of which easily consented to it; and the *Spartans* were worked up to it by *Alcibiades*, who also encouraged them to renew the war at home, and to fortify in *Attica*.

Nicias at the same time was gaining ground in the island; so that most of the inland towns came in to him. And having the next year received a supply of horse, with other provisions, from *Athens*, he set sail for *Syracuse*, in order to block it up by sea and land. The fate of *Athens* and *Syracuse* depended so much upon the success of this siege, that both sides employed their utmost care and diligence in it; and it was carried on in a more regular and skilful manner, than had been usually practised in these times, both with regard to the works without the city, for investing and attacking it, and to the counter-works within, for defending it. *Thucydides* has given so minute a description of the lines of circumvallation, the walls, ramparts, towers, ditches, palisadoes, staccades and engines, that, instead of transcribing these particulars from him, it may be sufficient to relate the general issue of

Olymp.
91. 3.
*The siege
of Syra-
cuse.*

the siege, with the most remarkable events, that happened during the course of it.

Nicias found it necessary, in the first place, to gain *Epipolæ*, an high hill which commanded the city, and had a steep craggy passage up to it. The *Syracusians* were so sensible of the importance of this post, that they had ordered a detachment of seven hundred men to march, upon a signal given, to the defence of it. But *Nicias* had landed his men in a little remote harbour so secretly and so suddenly, that they easily made themselves masters of it: And the seven hundred running up from the plains, in a confused manner, to dispossess them, were repulsed with the loss of three hundred of them, and their leader. *Nicias* built a fort there as a magazine; and proceeded to invest the town on the land side, so as to prevent any communication with the country. The enemy endeavouring to defeat his works, and render them useless, several skirmishes ensued, wherein the *Athenians* had generally the better: But in one of them, *Lamachus* being pressed hard, and abandoned by his men, was killed.

Lamachus
killed.

His character.

He was a great loss at this time not only to the public, but likewise to *Nicias*, who had chose to act with him, as being made for labour and fatigue, and a lover of it. He was a just man, and naturally mild; but brave and resolute withal, and remarkably bold in an engagement. And he was severe enough

in

in supporting the duty and discipline of the field; as appears by an answer he made to one of his captains, who being reprimanded by him for some miscarriage that he had been guilty of, told him, *He would do so no more*; No, said Lamachus, *War will not admit of a second fault*. His authority was a good deal lessened by his extreme poverty: He was so low and needy, that he was wont, when the campaign was over, to bring in a bill of charges for his apparel, even to his shoes. So that his necessities made him appear contemptible: And *Nicias* himself from thence took occasion to treat him rather as his subaltern, than his colleague, though he was allowed to be the abler officer of the two.

The *Syracusians* being still intent on the recovery of *Epipolæ*, ordered up another detachment thither. *Nicias* was at this time sick in the fort, and in bed, with only his servants about him. But when he found the enemy were forcing his entrenchments, he got up, and set fire to the engines, and other wood that lay scattered about the fort: Which had so good an effect, that it served as a signal to his own troops to come up to his relief, and so terrified and confounded those of the enemy, that they retreated into the city.

Nicias had now the sole command of the army, and his affairs were in a very promising condition. Most of the towns, which had

hitherto stood neuter, declared for him; and he was every where looked upon as a wise and fortunate General. His works at *Syracuse* were so far advanced, that the inhabitants were in despair; and came to a resolution of surrendering; and it was thought most adviseable to do it before they were entirely blocked up, and reduced to the last extremity.

Gylippus
arrives
with succours
from
Sparta.

But just as they were upon the point of capitulating, they received news of *Gylippus* coming with succours to them from *Sparta*, which gave a very unexpected turn to their affairs. *Nicias*, though he had notice of his arrival, took no care to prevent it, nor gave him any disturbance afterwards upon his landing; which was such an oversight, that *Plutarch* says, if he had sent ever so small a detachment to oppose his first approach towards him, he had been master of *Syracuse*, and put an end to the war. But he was so elated with his success, and the hopes of the town surrendering, that he treated *Gylippus* with scorn and contempt, and called him a trifling Pirate. His being so over confident and secure at this time, was the more remarkable, because it is perhaps the only instance of his life, wherein he was so; and it proved fatal to him.

Gylippus, when he had so easily got footing in the island, sent to *Nicias* to acquaint him, That he would allow him but five days time to quit it. He did not think fit to return him any answer;

answer; and thereupon both sides prepared for action. *Gylippus* marched up, as the *Athenians* had done, to *Epipolæ*; where he stormed the fort, and put all whom he found in it, to the sword. This brought on two sharp engagements: The first between two cross walls, which the *Syracusians* had run up to cut through the lines of the besiegers; wherein *Nicias* had the better. *Gylippus* imputed it to his being so cramped up, that he could not make use of his horse, or bow-men; and therefore drawing up his men on the outside of these inclosures, renewed the battle the next day, and was victorious.

Nicias had, ever since the arrival of *Gylippus*, been upon the defensive part; and as he daily lost ground in the country, he retired towards the sea, to keep that open to him in case of accidents, and for bringing in provisions. For this purpose he possessed himself of *Plemmyrium* near the *Great Harbour*, where he built three forts, and kept himself up, as it were, in garrison. *Gylippus* took this opportunity to gain over many of the inland cities; and at the same time arrived the fleet, which was expected from *Corinth*.

Nicias, under these circumstances, wrote a very melancholy account of his affairs to *Athens*; *That the enemy were become so superior to him, that he was not in a condition to force their intrenchments; and that, instead of besieging them,*

them, he was now besieged himself. That the towns revolted from him; the slaves and mercenaries deserted. That his troops were employed chiefly in guarding the forts, and fetching in provisions; and that in this latter service, many of them were cut off by the enemy's horse. That the fleet was in as bad a condition as the army; and that, in short, without a speedy reinforcement of men, ships and money, equal to what he at first set out with, it was in vain to attempt any thing further. Then as to his own particular, he complained of his being afflicted with sharp nephretic pains, which rendered him incapable of going on with the service, and therefore pressed to be recalled.

The *Athenians* were so affected with this letter, that they named *Eurymedon* and *Demosthenes* to go over with fresh supplies, the former immediately, with ten gallies, and the other early in the spring, with a strong force. At the same time they appointed *Menander* and *Euthydemus* to act as assistants to *Nicias*, but would not grant his request of coming home.

The *Lacedæmonians* and *Argives* spent great part of the year in irruptions into each others territories; wherein the latter being assisted by thirty *Athenian* gallies, gave occasion to a manifest breach of the treaty between *Athens* and *Sparta*. The same rancour and jealousy had continued betwixt the two states ever since the first conclusion of it; and as the matters in
dif-

difference had never been fairly adjusted, it was not properly an intermission of the war, though it was carried on more secretly, and indirectly. The *Athenians* had given the most handles for having the war openly renewed, which the *Lacedæmonians* did not think fit to lay hold of: But they were now so thoroughly inflamed by *Alcibiades*, and the war in *Sicily* was so favourable a conjuncture, that they proceeded to open hostilities.

Accordingly, in pursuance of the resolutions taken last year, they entered *Attica*, and possessed themselves of *Decelea*, within an hundred and twenty furlongs of *Athens*. This town was of the utmost importance to the *Athenians*, as being the shortest and most convenient passage, by which they received their goods and provisions, and great part of their revenues. The *Spartans* fortified it, and held it as a garrison; and the *Athenians* were so straitened and awed by it, that they looked upon themselves as besieged; and they were obliged to be constantly day and night upon their guard against a surprize. However the others did not attempt the city of *Athens*: But they kept the inhabitants so continually alarmed, and made such frequent incursions, and depredations upon them in the country, that *Diodorus Siculus* distinguishes this invasion of the *Spartans* from those which they had formerly made, and calls it *The Decelean war*. It reduced the
Athenians

*The Spar-
tans seize
Decelea.*

Athenians to such straits and misery, that above twenty thousand of their slaves went over to the enemy, and the greatest part of them were artificers.

*An engagement
in the
Great
Harbour of
Syracuse.*

Their affairs had not a much better aspect before *Syracuse*; where they were attacked both by sea and land. The engagement was in the *Great Harbour*; where they took three of the *Syracusan* gallies, and sunk eleven, with the loss of three of their own. But *Gylippus* at the same time surprised *Plemmyrium*, and took the three forts; wherein the *Athenians* lost a great sum of money, with three of their ships which lay in the dock, besides a great quantity of naval stores, which they could not be supplied with, but by forcing their way through the enemy, who rode at anchor under the fort.

Hereupon the *Syracusians* resolved to try their fortune at sea. *Nicias* would have declined fighting, until the reinforcement he expected from *Athens* was arrived: But he was forced to it by *Menander* and *Euthydemus* his colleagues, who wanted an occasion of signalizing themselves upon their new commission. After two days skirmishing, it came to a general engagement, when the *Athenians* least thought of it: So that being attacked before they had time to draw up, they made a very faint resistance, and retired behind their line of transport ships. They lost seven gallies, and great numbers of their men were killed and taken prisoners.

The

The next day *Demosthenes* arrived with seventy-three sail, and five thousand soldiers on board, who with the glittering of their armour, the flags and streamers waving in the air, from the gallies, and variety of music, appeared with all the pomp and terror of a victorious navy.

Demosthenes arrives with succours

Demosthenes came with a resolution to bring things to a speedy issue; but in concerting measures with *Nicias*, he had much ado to make him concur with him. He advised him to undertake nothing rashly, that he might afterwards repent of. He told him, *The enemy was tired out, and exhausted with the war; that their money and provisions failed them; that their allies were upon the point of abandoning them; and that they would soon be reduced to a necessity of surrendering, as they had before resolved to do.* *Demosthenes* reproaching him with this protracting and deliberating way of reasoning; and having brought over the other officers to his opinion, he entered immediately upon action. He pursued the former scheme of gaining *Epipolæ*, as the only means of facilitating the attack of the city. He forced the first intrenchment, and bear back those who were climbing the ascent, to attack him in his rear. But as he advanced further, he was opposed by a body of *Bæotians*, who stood the charge with great bravery, and put his troops into the utmost confusion. The heat of the action, and the darkness of

He is defeated.

the night had so disordered and intermixed them, that they fell upon one another; and in the end were entirely routed. Some were dashed to pieces on the rocks; others, who had escaped to the fields and woods, were cut down the next day by the enemies horse. In the whole, the *Athenians* lost two thousand men in this action.

*He proposes
to quit the
island.*

This was such a discouragement to *Demosthenes* at his first setting out, that thinking it to no purpose to harraß and expose the troops any further, he proposed to quit the island. *Nicias* on the contrary was for continuing the siege. The truth is, he was afraid of being called to account at his return, as his predecessors had been, when they consented to a peace in the former invasion of *Sicily*. Besides, he still thought himself stronger than the enemy, and flattered himself with hopes, that he had a party in the city, who would betray it to him. But upon the news of *Gylippus* coming with recruits from most parts of the island, he changed his mind, and agreed with *Demosthenes* to decamp with all expedition and secrecy, and put to sea. Just as they were preparing to sail, there happened an eclipse of the moon, which was looked upon as very ominous, and was so superstitiously observed by the Generals, that they resolved to stay twenty-seven days longer, which was the term limited by the Soothsayers.

Whilst

Whilst *Nicias* was intent upon his sacrifices, the *Syracusians* got notice of his intended retreat, and resolved to intercept him. Accordingly they advanced towards the *Athenians* both with their land forces, and their gallies; and the very boys rowed about in cock-boats, insulting them, and provoking them to fight. This occasioned another engagement in the *Great Harbour*; where *Eurymedon*, who had the command of the right wing, had spread his ships along the shore, in order to surround the enemy: But before he could execute his design, the *Syracusians* had forced through the center of the fleet, and attacked him so vigorously, that they drove them into a gulph, where he was killed. Eighteen of the *Athenian* gallies were taken in this action, and their crews cut to pieces.

*Another
engage-
ment in
the Great
Harbour.*

The *Syracusians*, to complete this victory, drew up a line of ships across the mouth of the harbour, and linking them together with chains and anchors, made a sort of boom to hem in the enemy. By this means the fight was renewed; and it was maintained by both sides with a greater number of ships, and with more ardour, and more skill, than any that had yet happened. The main effort of the *Athenians* was to force the passage of the harbour: But when they found that impracticable, they fell to grapling and closing with the enemy, so as to board them, and make it a
fort

*A third
engage-
ment.*

fort of land fight. And they rather chose this close way of fighting, for fear of the beaks of the *Syracusan* gallies, which were better made for execution; though this advantage in their make was not now of much use to them, because they wanted sea-room to tack, and drive upon the enemy, and direct their force properly. As it was hardly possible to preserve any line of battle in so small a compass, the engagement was carried on with a good deal of confusion, by little separate squadrons, some making towards the land and the forts, and others towards the sea. The harbour was one continued scene of slaughter and destruction, and was strewed with arms, and shattered fragments of gallies. At length the *Athenians*, after a long and stout resistance, were routed, and drove against the shore. Such of their troops as they had not put on board, were posted there to support them in case of need; and now they found it necessary to disembark, and join them. It was debated between the two Generals, whether they should make another attempt to open the passage at sea, or leave their fleet in the power of the enemy, and make their retreat by land. *Demosthenes* proposed the former, as having still more ships fit for service than the enemy: But the seamen were so disabled and dejected, that they could not be prevailed upon to go on board again; wherefore the latter method was resolved

solved upon; and accordingly they prepared to march off in the dead of the night.

Hermocrates the *Sicilian* General suspecting their design, proposed the sending of forces to possess all the difficult passes, and cut off their retreat. But the soldiers were so transported with their success, and at the same time celebrating a feast in honour of *Hercules*, were so taken up with drinking and other diversions, that they could by no means be prevailed with to pursue the victory. Upon which he sent some to the *Athenian* camp, to inform them, as from a party of their friends in *Syracuse*, *That the enemy had lined all the ways, in order to cut them off in their march.* This stratagem obtained credit with the *Athenians*, and they staid three days longer, in which time *Gylippus* had actually prepared to hinder their retreat. They left their ships to the enemy, and broke up in the night with all the horror and confusion imaginable, and with all the malencholy reflections, which their present circumstances suggested to them. They set out in two bodies commanded by the two Generals; but were soon disturbed in their march, the enemy having beset all the avenues to the city, and sent out several detachments of horse to annoy them in the plains. When they saw they were to dispute their way, they presented themselves in order for a pitched battle, which the others declined: but still as they proceeded, they were

The Athenians decamp, and are pursued with great slaughter.

attacked by them afresh. Their first design was to go to *Catana*; but when they found they were so pressed and galled on all sides, they changed their rout, and made towards the sea. The next day the rear of the army, consisting of six thousand men under the command of *Demosthenes*, being separated from the rest, the *Syracusians* came up with them, and having surrounded them with their horse, forced them into a narrow pass, where, after a vigorous resistance, *Demosthenes* surrendered himself at discretion, with a condition to spare the lives of his men.

Nicias knowing nothing of this defeat, was pursuing his march: But the next day the enemy fell in with him likewise, and summoned him to surrender, as *Demosthenes*, they told him, had done. He desired time to inform himself of the truth of the fact; and being too well convinced of it, he offered to pay the expence of the war, for liberty to withdraw his troops out of the island: Which being rejected, he stood upon his defence, and maintained his ground all that night. The next morning he proceeded on his march to the river *Asinarus*; but being still pursued by the *Syracusians*, and his troops being not able to make another stand, some were plunged into the river; others were cut to pieces, as they were quenching their thirst in it; and such a general havock and slaughter was made among them, that

that *Nicias* gave all for lost, and surrendered upon the same terms that his colleague had done.

The chief point now in debate, was concerning the disposal of the prisoners. *Gylippus* pressed to have the two Generals delivered up to him, that he might carry them with him in triumph to *Sparta*. *Hermocrates* was also inclined to save their lives, saying, *That it was better to use a victory well, than to gain one.* But being overcome by the importunity of the army, he was forced to kill them; though some say, that being unwilling to survive this disgrace, they killed themselves.

Nicias and Demosthenes killed.

Demosthenes was a brave and gallant officer, who had served well at *Pylus*, and in other parts of the war at home. But it was his misfortune to be sent too late upon this expedition, when things were past being retrieved, at least without a longer course of time, than he was willing to allow for it. *Demosthenes* the orator, in after-times, seems to have valued himself upon his being related to this General: but however superior he was to him in his civil capacity, he does not appear to have derived from him any great share of military glory.

Character of Demosthenes

Nicias was rather a good man, than a great one. He was gentle, compassionate and beneficent; virtuous and religious; he had also great wisdom and foresight; and always meant well to his country: But he was too diffident and

And of Nicias.

timorous for the services he was employed in. And yet his fear was in some respects of use to him: For in the assemblies, it was looked upon as the effect of an awful regard and deference that he paid to the people; and as such it recommended him exceedingly to their favour. In the field, it often passed for caution and experience, sometimes for stratagem, sometimes for moderation, and sometimes even for piety and devotion. It was no small advantage to his character, that he had to do with such as *Cleon* and *Alcibiades*, who were in the other extreme, too hot and enterprising. His riches also stood him in great stead: He had a vast revenue arising from some silver mines which he possessed at *Laurium*; and by displaying his bounty in shews and donations, and other acts of munificence, he in some measure stifled the bad opinion many had conceived of him. He likewise retained a great number of sycophants and informers, with whom he judged it necessary to keep measures: But when they found he was afraid of them, they took advantage of it, and made a prey of him. *Plutarch* observes finely upon this occasion, *That his fear brought on him a rent-charge for knaves, and his humanity for honest men.* He lived in so reserved a manner, and so much upon his guard, that he would not eat or drink, or converse with any of the citizens. But notwithstanding all these precautions and disguises, he
had

had enemies who saw through them, and exposed him to the raillery of all the wits and scoffers of his time. His behaviour in action nobody found fault with : For when once he was entered, he was as quick and vigorous in executing, as he was slow and fearful in resolving, So that his great defect was in reasoning, debating, and projecting, when he should have been doing. His opinion was in most cases right; but it seldom prevailed, because he wanted courage to support it. Hence it was, that he was so often forced to serve against his judgment, as well as his inclination; and more particularly in the war of Sicily. *Plutarch* commends his opposing that expedition, and says, *It was done like an honest and wise man*: But then he adds, *That his exclaiming against it afterwards, when the resolution was taken, could be of no use, but to dishearten the troops; That he should have rushed immediately upon the enemy, and bravely stood the trial of his fortune.* However, though he set out but indifferently, he made some amends for it in the course of the war, and was upon the point of bringing it to an happy issue. But then again his heart failed him; and the latter part of his conduct was so poor and trifling, and he committed such gross and fatal mistakes, that he seemed to be under a sort of infatuation. And yet his miscarriages were not wholly owing to his ill conduct; but partly to his pain and sickness, and to the infection, which was

got into the army, and partly to the envy and ill-will of his fellow citizens; who yet were moved with compassion for him, when they considered his condition, that he was in the height of despair, in want of necessaries, and worn out with age and infirmities; especially when they reflected how earnestly he had dissuaded them from this undertaking. They were at last so affected with his misfortunes, that they were ready to exclaim against providence, for suffering one, who was so remarkably zealous for the honour and worship of the gods, to be so severely dealt with. But however they might pity him on account of his private virtues, they did not think he had done his duty as a General; and they so far resented his surrendering at discretion, that his name was omitted in the public list of those commanders, who had lost their lives in the service of their country.

The whole number of those who decamped from *Syracuse*, amounted to no less than forty thousand, of whom the greatest part were killed, and dispersed, and seven thousand were taken prisoners, and condemned to the quarries; where they were used with great hardships for seventy days, and were afterwards most of them sold as slaves.

*The end of
the Sicilian
war.*

Such was the event of the siege of *Syracuse*; which the *Athenians* had prosecuted with so much vigour, that they had drained their city of
men

men and money; and were therefore reproached *with having poured all Athens into Sicily*. But the rashness of the enterprize was severely punished in the loss of their best Generals, fleets and armies; all of them being destroyed or left at the mercy of those whom they had so unseasonably undertaken to subdue. And the loss was still much greater in regard to the influence it afterwards had on their affairs at home. This put an end to the *Sicilian* war, which is to be considered chiefly with reference to the *Peloponnesian*: And as it was carried on by most of the *Grecian* confederates, it was properly a continuation of it, though the *Athenians*, by their restless ambition, had removed the seat of it, and drew into the quarrel new enemies, who were of themselves almost a match for them at sea.

The news of this defeat was not easily credited at *Athens*; but being at last convinced of the truth, they were under the greatest consternation, and exclaimed against their prophets, and priests, who, by a religious pretext, had soothed them with hopes of conquering *Sicily*, and betrayed them into all these miseries. However they resolved not to sink under them, but to equip a fleet, in order to support their allies, who began now to think of throwing off their yoke: And even those who had stood neuter, took this occasion to declare against them. But the *Lacedæmonians* being more parti-

cularly elevated, resolved to prosecute the war with vigour; and the winter was spent in preparations on both sides.

Olymp.
92. 1.
*A league
between
the Lacedæ-
monians and
the Per-
sian.*

This year, by the management of *Alcibiades*, a league was concluded between the King of *Persia*, and the *Lacedæmonians*; and the principal cities of *Ionia* revolted from *Athens*. It was at this time, that the thousand talents, which the *Athenians* had set apart for cases of extremity, were employed in shipping, and other provisions. The *Athenians* chased twenty *Peloponnesian* ships into the *Piræus*, and blocked them-up; but the latter watching their opportunity, forced their passage, and took four of the *Athenians*. Upon a descent of the *Athenians* near *Panormus* in the *Milesian* territories, a fight ensued, in which *Chalcidæus* the *Spartan* commander was killed. This action rendered *Alcibiades* suspected to the *Lacedæmonians*; inso-much that they sent private orders to *Astyo-chus* their Admiral, to dispatch him. Besides he had incensed *Agis* the *Spartan* King against him, by carrying on an affair with his Wife. But the truth is, he began to be envied at *Sparta*, because all affairs of consequence, which succeeded well, were universally ascribed to him. Having secret intelligence of their designs against him, he retired to *Tissaphernes* the *Per-sian* King's Lieutenant, and by his address soon worked himself into great repute with him. Thus having quitted the interests of the *Spar-*
tans.

*Alcibia-
des sus-
pected at
Sparta.*

*Flies to
Tissa-
phernes.*

tans, he endeavoured to do them all ill offices, and render them odious to *Tissaphernes*. He advised him to furnish them but sparingly with money; and to keep the balance so even betwixt Athens and Sparta, that he might wear them out, and consume them insensibly; and when they had wasted their strength upon one another, they would both become an easy prey to his King. By which means he was hindered from assisting them vigorously, and from finally ruining the *Athenians*. At the same time he practised with the *Athenians*, whose chief strength then lay at *Samos*, about his being recalled; and, as a condition of it, gave them hopes, That he would make *Tissaphernes* their friend; provided also, that they would reform the government, which was administered by ill men, and put it into fewer hands. The chief man who opposed his return, was *Phrynicius* one of the Generals, who, to compass his designs, sent word to *Astyochus* the *Lacedæmonian* General, that *Alcibiades* was treating with *Tissaphernes*, to bring him over to the *Athenian* interest. He offered further, to betray to him the whole army and navy of the *Athenians*: But his treasonable practices being all detected by the good understanding betwixt *Alcibiades* and *Astyochus*, he was laid aside, and afterwards stabbed in the market-place.

Phrynicius
murdered.

This year began with the revolt and recovery of several places towards the *Hellepont*.

Olymp.
92. 2.

The

The treaty was still on foot with *Alcibiades*; and, to bring it to an issue, the *Democracy* was abolished in several cities subject to *Athens*, and soon after in *Athens* itself; way being made for it by the murder of *Androcles*, and others who appeared most violent for the people: So that the government was now restrained to four hundred men in the nature of an *Oligarchy*. The manner of effecting this change, was by ten men, who, for fear of being insulted by the people, obtained leave, *That whatever they should propose, might be without danger of incurring any penalty by the laws.* He who appeared chiefly in the transaction of this affair, was *Pisander*: But the whole scheme of it was laid down by *Antiphon*, a man for his virtue and abilities, not inferior to any of his time: For no man thought juster than he, or expressed his thoughts better. But finding the people jealous of his merit, and the force of his eloquence, he avoided all occasions of distinguishing himself in the assemblies; yet did not desert the service of his country, though he did not appear in it. For his advice was generally asked, and followed, as well in the most important exigencies of state, as in private suits, in the courts of justice. When upon the next change of the government he was impeached and tried for his life, as being instrumental in it, he made the best defence of any man to that day in *Athens*. The four hundred being thus authorised,

Antiphon
his cha-
racter.

authorised, were conducted to the senate-house with guards, and daggers under their coats, where the *council of five hundred* were paid their arrears of salary, and dismissed. But they soon began to exert their power very imperiously, imprisoning, banishing, and killing such as they thought obnoxious; and in the mean while sent to treat with *Agis* about a peace. But he was so far from hearkening to their proposals, that he took this occasion to advance towards *Athens*, in hopes the city would surrender under its present consternation; until finding the people obstinate in their defence, he was forced to retire to *Decelea*.

The government of the four hundred in Athens.

The army in the mean while, which was at *Samos*, protested against these proceedings in the city; and, at the persuasion of *Thrasybulus*, recalled *Alcibiades*, and created him General, with full power to sail directly to the *Piræus*, and crush this new tyranny. He would not give way to this rash opinion; but went first to shew himself to *Tissaphernes*, and let him know, *that it was now in his power to treat him as a friend, or an enemy*: By which means he awed the *Athenians* with *Tissaphernes*, and *Tissaphernes* with the *Athenians*. When afterwards the *four hundred* sent to *Samos* to vindicate their proceedings, the army was for putting the messengers to death, and persisted in the design upon the *Piræus*; but *Alcibiades*, by opposing it, manifestly saved the common-

Alcibiades recalled, and created General.

common-wealth. For if they had returned to *Athens*, all *Ionia*, and the *Hellespont* must have fell into the enemies hands of course, while the *Athenians*, engaged in civil wars, destroyed one another within the circuit of their own walls. About this time some of the *Lacedæmonian* confederates mutinied for pay, and had killed *Astyochus* their Admiral, if he had not taken sanctuary: But he was soon after discharged from his command of the fleet, and succeeded by *Mindarus*. The *Lacedæmonians* had for some time been dissatisfied with *Tissaphernes*, who now gave them a fresh occasion, by detaining a great *Phœnician* fleet, which should have come to their assistance; the accession of which to either party would have enabled them to ravish entirely the dominion of the sea from the other side, and to have put an end to the war. Whatever his designs were, it was a great piece of service done to the *Athenians*, and is generally ascribed to the management of *Alcibiades*.

In the mean while the innovation in *Athens* had occasioned such factions and tumults, that the *four hundred* were more intent upon providing for their safety, than prosecuting the war: In order to which, they fortified that part of the *Piræus*, which commands the mouth of the haven, and resolved, in case of extremity, rather to let in the *Lacedæmonians*, than expose their persons to the fury of their fellow-citizens.

citizens. The *Spartans* took occasion from these disturbances, to hover about with forty-two galleys under the conduct of *Hegesandridas*; and the *Athenians* with thirty-six under *Tymochares* were forced to engage them, but lost part of their fleet, and the rest were dispersed. To add to which, all *Eubœa*, except *Oreus*, revolted to the *Peloponnesians*. This island had supplied *Athens* with more provisions than *Attica* itself; and lay so convenient for the enemy's forcing the *Piræus*, that the *Athenians* were now under a greater consternation, than after the defeat in *Sicily*, having no competent number of ships, or men; and those few forces which they had left, being so miserably torn in factions, that they could expect nothing less than a final destruction. And this is what must necessarily have ensued, if the *Lacedæmonians* had not, by their remissness and their diffidence, especially in sea-affairs, given occasion for spinning out the war.

*The Athenians
were
wrecked at
sea.*

The first step the *Athenians* made to recover this blow, was to depose the *four hundred*, and commit the government to five thousand; which *Thucydides* takes notice of, as the most equal poise between the tyranny of the *few*, and the insolence of the *multitude*. *Pisander*, and all the rest of the *Oligarchy*, fled to the enemy at *Decelea*, except *Aristarchus*, who went with some of the soldiers to *Oenœ*, and betrayed

*The government
of the four
hundred
abolished.*

*A fight
at Cynos-
Sema.*

trayed it to the *Bæotians*. In the next place they furnished out as good a fleet as they were able, under the command of *Thrasylus* and *Thrasylulus*, who fell in with *Mindarus* towards the *Hellepont*, and defeated him at a place called *Cynos-Sema*, or *Hecuba's-Tomb*. And though they gained this victory with a proportionable loss on their side, yet it was of great importance, as it served to raise the dejected spirits of the people, and put new life into their affairs.

*Another at
Abydus.*

Not long after another engagement happened near *Abydus*; which had lasted from morning until night, and was still dubious, when *Alcibiades* arrived with eighteen sail, and soon put the enemy to flight, although *Pharnabazus* was come down to their assistance by land, and did what he could to cover the ships, as they lay under the shore. The *Athenians* not only recovered their own galleys, but took thirty of the enemies, and erected a trophy. *Alcibiades*, after this victory, went to visit *Tissaphernes*, who was so far from receiving him as he expected, that he immediately caused him to be seized, and sent away prisoner to *Sardis*, telling him, *He had orders from the King to make war upon the Athenians*: But the truth is, he was afraid of being accused to his master by the *Peloponnesians*, and thought, by this act of injustice, to purge himself from all former imputations. *Alcibiades*, after thirty days,
made

made his escape to *Clazomenæ*, and soon after bore down upon the *Peloponnesian* fleet, which rode at anchor before the port of *Cyzicus*. With twenty of his best ships he broke through the enemy, pursued those who abandoned their ships, and fled to land, and made a great slaughter of them, among whom fell *Mindarus*. The *Athenians* took all the enemy's ships, made themselves masters of *Cyzicus*; and thereby not only secured to themselves the *Hellaspont*, but drove the *Lacedæmonians* out of all the other seas. They also intercepted letters to the *Ephori* at *Sparta*, the contents of which were after the *Laconick* manner; *All is lost: Mindarus is slain: The soldiers starve; and we know not what measures to take.*

*Another
at Cyzi-
cus.*

After the last defeat of the *Peloponnesians* at sea, *Agis* made excursions from *Decelea*, and advanced as far as the very walls of *Athens*, Whereupon *Thrasylus* marching out with the citizens and strangers, drew them up with a resolution to fight him. Which the *Spartan* perceiving, made a speedy retreat, and had some of his rear cut off by the light-armed men. After which *Agis* discovering a fleet of corn-ships running up the *Piræus*, concluded it was in vain for him to spend so much time in blocking up the *Athenians* by land, while their ports were open to receive provisions by sea. Upon which *Clearchus* was sent out with fifteen sail; three of which were destroyed by some *Athenian*

*Olymp.
92. 3.*

Athenian guard-ships in the *Hellespont*, and the rest got safe to *Byzantium*.

Olymp.
92. 4.

Tbrasyllus, who, for his service last year, had a fleet of fifty galleys decreed him, with a proportionable number of soldiers, sailed to *Samos*; from whence he made to *Colophon*, and took it, made excursions into *Lydia*, and appeared before *Ephesus*; but was beat back with loss by *Tissaphernes*. In his retreat he discovered twenty-five *Syracusan* ships, which he chased, and took four with the men in them, whom he sent to *Athens*. Being joined by the rest of the fleet at *Sestos*, he transported the whole army to *Lampsacus*, which they fortified, and made an attempt upon *Abydus*. This occasioned an hot skirmish betwixt *Alcibiades* and *Pharnabazus*, wherein the latter was worsted. In the winter these *Athenian* forces made several incursions into the continent, and wasted the *Persian* territory.

Olymp.
93. 1.

Alcibiades opened this campaign with the siege of *Chalcedon*; whose inhabitants having sent their corn and cattle to the *Bithynians* their neighbours, he drew down his army to the frontier of the *Bithynians*, and sent a Herald to accuse them of this procedure. They being terrified at his approach, delivered to him the whole booty, and entered into an alliance with him. After which he went on with his works at *Chalcedon*, encompassed it with a wall from sea to sea, and made a boom cross the river. *Hippocrates* the
Lacedæ-

Lacedæmonian Governor of the town, made a sally, but was killed, and his men repulsed. *Pharnabazus* also, who advanced with his forces to raise the siege, could not approach the town by reason of the *Athenian* works. The *Athenians* soon after, by force and stratagem, took in *Selymbria*, *Byzantium*, and other places.

The success of these expeditions inflamed *Alcibiades's* desire of seeing his native country again, at a time when he could appear with so much honour. Accordingly being recalled he set sail to *Athens*, his ships being adorned on every side with great numbers of shields and other spoils, and towing after them many gallies taken from the enemy, with the ensigns and ornaments of many others, which he had sunk and destroyed; all of them together amounting to two hundred. As soon as he was landed, the multitude who came out to meet him, fixed their eyes on him, thronged about him, saluted him with loud acclamations, and crowned him with garlands. They pronounced him *The bravest man of their country*; declaring, *That in his sentence of banishment, he had been barbarously circumvented, and traduced by men of less abilities and eloquence than himself, and such as served themselves of the government: That he had always promoted the good of the common-wealth, not only with the public stock, but his private fortune: That*

Olymp.
93. 2.

Alcibiades's reception at Athens.

being in continual danger of his life, he was forced to care for his greatest enemies; and though he saw the miscarriages in the state, yet was rendered incapable by his exile, of serving his dearest friends and countrymen. These reflections revived the memory of their past miseries, which they imputed wholly to his absence, as, on the other hand, they ascribed their present flourishing condition to his immediate conduct and influence. Soon after in an assembly of the senate and people, he lamented his own sufferings, and their usage of him, but touched the latter so gently and modestly, that he imputed all to his hard fortune, and some evil *genius* that attended him. Upon which they created him *Generalissimo* both at land and sea, as the only man capable of restoring his country to its ancient grandeur. They gave him back his estate, and ordered the *Eumolpides*, and *Holy Heralds* to absolve him from the curses, which they had solemnly pronounced against him by sentence of the people. Which was obeyed by all, but *Theodorus* the High-Priest, who excused himself, saying, *I never denounced any execration against him, if he have done nothing against the common wealth.* He won so far upon the meaner sort of people, that they passionately desired he would take the sovereignty upon him: Some of them made no difficulty to tell him so, and advise him

to put himself out of the reach of envy, and above the fear of being called to account by those, who were endeavouring to overturn the state. It does not appear that he made any attempts that way; but the chief men in the city were so apprehensive of it, that they immediately equipped out an hundred gallies with soldiers on board them, gave him liberty to chuse his own officers, and did all they could, to hasten him on ship-board. Accordingly three months after his return, he set sail to *Andros*, and having defeated the inhabitants, went from thence to *Samos*, intending to make that the seat of the war.

In the mean while the *Lacedæmonians* were resolved to exert themselves more vigorously; and finding their affairs required greater preparations, and a commander fit to oppose to *Alcibiades*, they pitched upon *Lyfander*; who, though he was related to the family of the *Heraclida*, had been bred up under much hardship, and paid an entire respect to the discipline and manners of his country. He was brave and aspiring, and like his countrymen, sacrificed all sorts of pleasure to his ambition. He had an evenness and sedateness of temper, which made all conditions of life sit easy upon him; but withal was extremely insinuating, crafty, and designing, and made his interest the only measure of truth and falsehood.

*Lyfander
his cha-
racter.*

hood. This deceitful temper was observed to run through the whole course of his life ; upon which occasion it was said, *That he cheated children with foul play, and men with perjury*: And it was a maxim of his own, *That when the lion fails, we must make use of the fox.*

In discharge of this new commission, he put to sea, and leaving the fleet at *Ephesus*, went from thence to *Cyrus* the young *Persian* Prince at *Sardis*: To whom he exclaimed against the treachery of *Tissaphernes*, prevailed with him to encrease the seamens pay, and having fixed him intirely in the *Spartan* interest, returned to *Ephesus*. *Alcibiades* having occasion to go from *Samos* to *Phocæa*, left the care of the fleet to *Antiochus* his Vice-Admiral, with exprefs command not to engage, though the enemy should provoke him. But he was so far from observing his orders, that with two gallies he presently stood for *Ephesus*, and at the very mouth of the harbour, used the highest provocations possible to draw out the enemy. *Lyfander* at first manned out a few ships to give him chase ; upon which the whole *Athenian* fleet coming to his relief, he also drew up his in good order, and gained an intire victory, *Antiochus* being slain, and fifteen *Athenian* gallies taken. *Alcibiades*, upon this news, ordered a rendezvous of the ships

*He defeats
the Athe-
nians at
S. a.*

ships that remained, to be made at *Samos*, and offered to renew the fight; but *Lyfander*, content with the victory he had gained, would not stir. However this defeat brought *Alci-* Alcibia-
biades into disgrace at *Athens*; and he, who *des in dis-*
 was just before respected even to adoration, *grace.*
 was now discarded upon a groundless suspicion, that he had not done his duty. But it was the glory he had obtained by his past services, that now ruined him. For his continual success had begot in the people such an opinion of him, that they thought it impossible for him to fail in any thing he undertook; and from thence his enemies took occasion to question his integrity, and to impute to him both his own, and others miscarriages. He being retired to a fort he had built in the *Chersonese*, ten others were appointed in his room to manage the war: *Conon* one of them finding the fleet at *Samos* in a very ill condition, made it up seventy sail, and putting to sea, made several descents, and harassed the enemy's country.

Callicratidas being sent to succeed *Lyfander*, Olymp.
 whose year was expired, *I deliver up the fleet* 93. 3.
to you, says the latter, which by my victory
rides sovereign of the seas. I will allow it you,
 says *Callicratidas*, *if you will coast along from*
Ephesus to the left of Samos, where the Athenian
fleet lies, and resign it at Miletus. Lyfander's

* Μοιχῶν-
τα.
The Athe-
nians de-
feated
again at
sea.

The fight
at Argi-
nuse.

answer was, *That he would not meddle whilst another commanded.* The first attempt of the new Admiral was against *Methymna* in *Lesbos*, which he took by storm. He then threatened *Conon*, *That he would make him leave* * *whoring the sea*, and accordingly seeing him stand out to sea, he pursued him into the port of *Metylene* with an hundred and seventy sail, took thirty of his ships, and besieged him in the town, from which he cut off all provisions. He soon after took ten more out of twelve, which were coming to his relief. Then hearing that the *Athenians* had fitted out their whole strength, consisting of an hundred and fifty sail, he left fifty of his ships under *Eteonicus*, to carry on the siege of *Mitylene*, and with an hundred and twenty more met the *Athenians* at *Arginuse* over-against *Lesbos*. His pilot advised him to retreat; for that the enemy was superior in number. He told him, *That Sparta would be never the worse inhabited, though he were slain.* The fight was long and obstinate, until at last *Callicratidas* charging through the enemy, was sunk, and the rest fled. The *Peloponnesians* lost about seventy sail, and the *Athenians* twenty-five, with most of the men in them. The *Athenian* Admirals, who had the joint command of the fleet, instead of being rewarded for so signal a victory, were made a barbarous instance of their fellow-

fellow-citizens power, and ingratitude. Upon a relation of the fight before the senate, it was alledged, they had suffered their men, who were shipwrecked, to be lost, when they might have saved them: Upon which they were clapped in irons, in order to answer it to the people. They urged in their defence, *That they were pursuing the enemy, and at the same time gave orders about taking up the men, to those whose business it was, particularly to Theramenes, who was now their accuser; but yet that their orders could not be executed, by reason of a violent storm, which happened at that time.* This seemed so reasonable and satisfactory, that several stood up, and offered to bail them. But in another assembly the popular incendiaries demanded justice, and so awed the judges, that *Socrates* was the only man, who had courage enough to declare, *He would do nothing contrary to law,* and accordingly refused to act. After a long debate, eight of the ten were condemned, and six of them put to death, among whom was *Pericles* son of the *Great Pericles*.

*Six of the
Athenian
Admirals
put to
death.*

*Olymp.
93. 4.*

The *Peloponnesian* confederates, after their last defeat, placed their chief confidence in *Lyfander*, and sent to solicit his return to the command of the fleet. The *Lacedæmonians*, to gratify their allies, and yet observe their laws, which forbade that honour being

F f 4

conferred

conferred twice on the same person, sent him, with the power of Admiral, but with the title only of Vice-Admiral, to *Aracus*. Having obtained what supplies of money he could from *Cyrus*, he refitted the navy; with which he surprised several islands towards *Attica*, and sailing from thence to the *Hellepont*, besieged *Lampsacus*, and took it. In the mean while the *Athenian* fleet consisting of an hundred and eighty sail put in at *Sestos*, and from thence sailed to *Ægos-potamos*, where they were just opposite to the enemy, who was still cruising about *Lampsacus*. The two navies being in sight of one another, *Lyfander* commanded all his men on board, giving them a strict charge to watch the signal. The next morning the *Athenians* drew up in a line directly before him, and gave the challenge, but he would not accept it: Upon which they bore up to him again the next day; and thus he suffered himself to be insulted for four days together. Upon the fifth, he dispatched some light vessels after them, to give him notice when the enemy was landed: They accordingly hung out a shield on the fore-deck, which being the appointed signal, he took the land-army on board, and set sail with all expedition. *Conon* being the first of the *Athenians*, who descried the enemy, made what haste he could to get his men on board; but they were

were so dispersed, that he was forced to make his escape to *Cyprus* with only eight vessels. *Lyfander* run in briskly upon the rest, and having easily made himself master of the whole fleet, returned in triumph to *Lampsacus* with three thousand prisoners, who were all put to death, except *Adimantus* one of the Admirals, who was thought to have betrayed the fleet to him.

The Athenians lose their whole fleet at Ægospotamos.

Lyfander, after this success, spent some time in settling his conquests by land; and finding that a good body of *Athenians* on shore had thrown themselves into the garrisons, he commanded them all, on pain of death, to repair to *Athens*: Which he did with a design to throng the city, so as to reduce it by famine, if it did not surrender upon his opening the siege. This was so sudden and fatal a turn to the *Athenians*, that finding themselves at once deprived of all their shipping and provisions, blocked up by sea and land, and abandoned by all their allies but *Samos*, they could expect nothing less than what followed. But notwithstanding these difficulties, they resolved to stand a siege, and kept within their walls, until provisions failing, they were forced to send to *Agis* to make overtures of peace. He told them, *He had no power to treat with them*, and referred them to the *Ephori* at *Sparta*; to whom they made proposals of parting with all places,

Athens besieged.

but

but their city, the *Piræus*, and long walls. The *Ephori* immediately dismissed the Ambassadors, telling them, *That if they seriously desired a peace they must come with fairer proposals.* They had before hinted to them, that they expected their long walls should be demolished : But *Archestratus* was committed for only moving, *That they should conclude a peace with the Lacedæmonians upon their own terms.*

Theramenes at last undertook to manage the treaty with *Lysander* ; and after three months stay with him went again to *Sparta* ; where several of the confederates opposed a peace upon any terms, insisting upon the total extirpation of the *Athenians*. But the *Lacedæmonians* told them, *They would not destroy a city, which had so eminently rescued Greece in the most critical juncture ; and consented to a peace upon these conditions : That the long walls, and fortifications of the Piræus should be demolished : That they should deliver up all their ships, but twelve : That they should restore their exiles : That they should make a league offensive and defensive with the Lacedæmonians, and serve them in all their expeditions both by sea and land.* *Theramenes* being returned with the articles to *Athens*, was asked, *Why he acted so contrary to the intention of Themistocles, and gave those walls into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, which he built in defence of them ? I have my eye,* says he,

he, upon Themistocles his design. He raised these walls for the preservation of the city; and I for the very same reason would have them destroyed: For if walls only secure a city, Sparta, which has none, is in a very ill condition. The Athenians at another time would not have thought this a satisfactory answer; but being reduced to the last extremity, it did not admit of a long debate, whether they should accept of the treaty. Yet as to the business of the walls, they waved the putting it in execution as long as they could; until at last *Lysander* came up the *Piræus*, and demolished them with great solemnity of musick, and other demonstrations of joy, as if he seemed from that day to date the liberty of Greece. This concluded the ninety-third *Olympiad*, and the three thousand six hundredth year of the world, and put a final period to the war, after it continued full seven and twenty years, with great expence of blood and treasure, with a strange variety of fortune, and a spirit of resolution and bravery on both sides, which might have been employed to a vast advantage against a foreign enemy. Victory seemed irresolute in the whole course of the war; the reason of which was, that the *Athenians* being always masters at sea, repaid themselves there, what they lost by land. Neither could the *Peloponnesians* have ever given so successful and sudden a turn to their

*Surrenders
upon terms.*

*The end of
the Peloponnesian
war.*

A. M.
3600.

their affairs, if they had not prevailed with the *Persian* to open his treasury, and supply them liberally, especially after the late conquests of *Alcibiades*.

How far this change affected the city of *Athens*, and what further influence it had on the other affairs of *Greece*, will be the subject of the next volume. But we must not conclude this without doing some sort of justice to the memory of those, who contributed so largely to the growth of letters and politeness during this war; several of whom bore an honourable part in it, and were equally industrious to defend their country with their sword, and to adorn it with their pen.

Sophocles made such improvements in the *Tragic* strain, that he foiled his master *Æschylus* in the first piece he presented. They had both of them a lofty *Genius*; but *Sophocles* had a greater command of it; so that he is not so sublime in his expressions as the other, but more eloquent and more intelligible. He had also a more artful way of touching the passions, and by an agreeable mixture of *terror* and *pity*, left more pleasing impressions on the audience; from whence it is, that he was surnamed the *Bee*. He is still more remarkable for his *conduct*, which appears in his working up, and unravelling his *plots*, and his

in-

interesting the *chorus* in the *main action*, so as to make the play all of a piece. It is said he died in a transport of joy upon the success of his last piece. His rival *Euripides* con-
tented himself with a lower strain, and endeavoured to be more elaborate and correct, more moral and sententious, and to instruct as well as please: so that what he wants in the contrivance of his *fables*, and the grandeur of the *Buskin*, he makes up in *nature* and *good sense*. It is much for the honour of this poet, that after the last great defeat of the *Athenians* before *Syracuse*, many of the prisoners were released, only for repeating some of his verses. *Comedy* at the same time was advanced by *Phrynicus*, *Aristarchus*, *Cratinus*, and others; but the greatest and boldest *genius* of this kind, was *Aristophanes*: Who at the same time that he diverted the *Athenians* with his pleasantry, awed them with his satire, and attacked them in their tenderest part, their superstition. It must be owned he often mocked too grossly, and that he was not master of that *fine railery*, which is so essential to *Comedy*; but yet he may be esteemed perfect in his kind, as he writ in the time of the *old comedy*, which allowed a liberty of presenting things on the stage without any disguise of persons or names. Whatever improvements *comedy* received after this licence was restrained by the laws; yet
it

Euripides

Aristophanes.

*The full
age of
poetry.*

it is certainly from this period, that we are to date *The full age of poetry in Greece*. It is observable, that no art made quicker, or firmer advances than this. It had indeed for some ages been made subservient chiefly to the propagation of religion, government, and philosophy: But superstition and knowledge of all kinds having by degrees gathered strength enough, to convey and enforce their doctrines without the assistance of verse, the *muse* by this means was divested of those severer ornaments, and appeared in her more natural colours, with an air of wit and gaiety, and politeness. The *Grecian* muse was particularly happy in being supported by a language, that was smooth and musical, and yet full and expressive; and that variety of *dialects*, which is generally a corruption in other languages, was not the least of its beauties. This proved such a mighty encouragement, that every one strove to excel; and some by varying their numbers, and others their subjects, succeeded so well, as to reduce poetry to an art, and by their writings to fix a standard in their several kinds to succeeding ages.

Socrates. The great hero in philosophy at this time was *Socrates*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more particularly in the account of his death, which happened some years later. And here we must not omit the names of *Herodotus*,

dotus, and *Thucydides*, to whom the memory of *Greece* itself is in a great measure owing: The first is considered as the *father*, and the latter as the more perfect *master* of history.

Herodotus.
Thucydides.

F I N I S.

